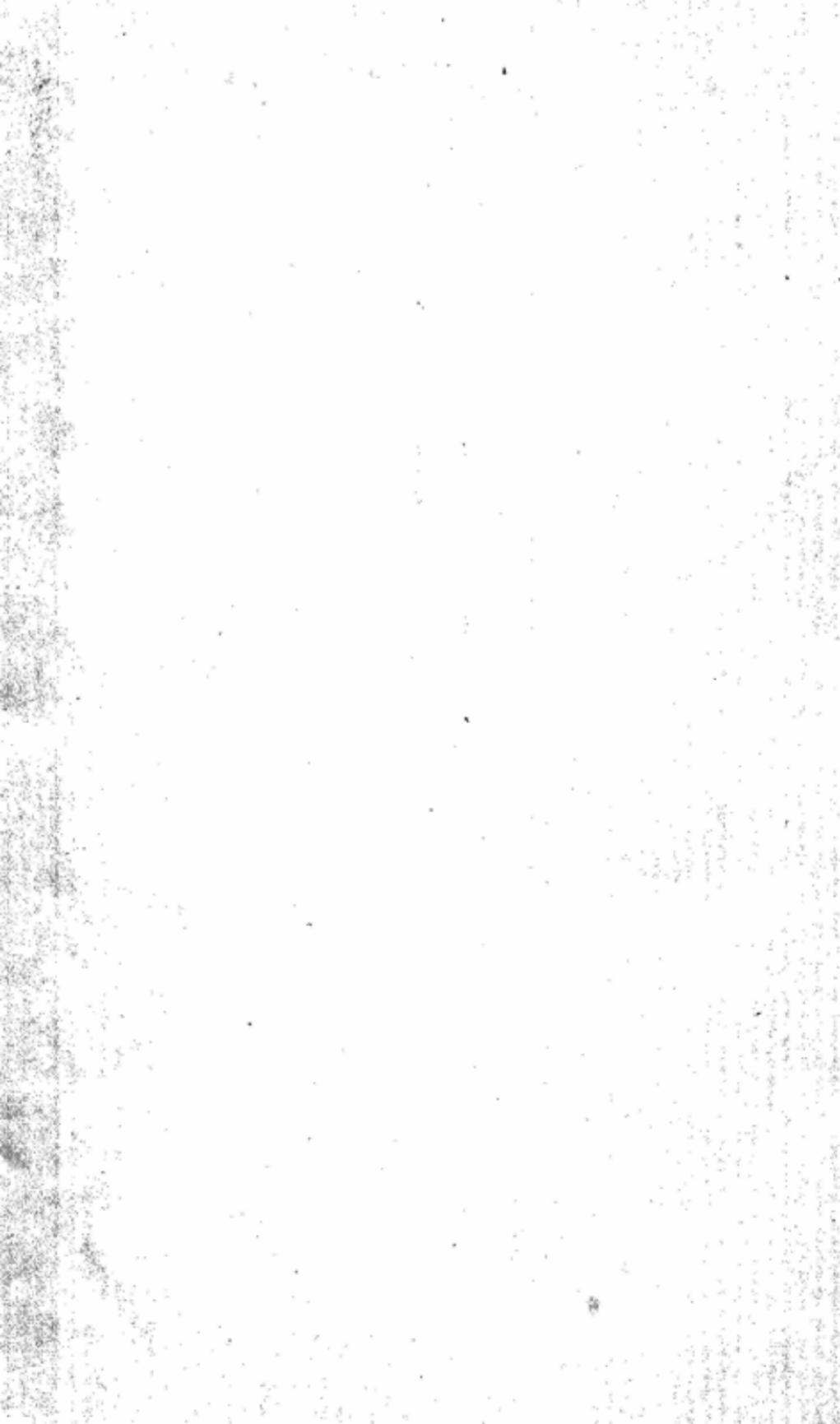


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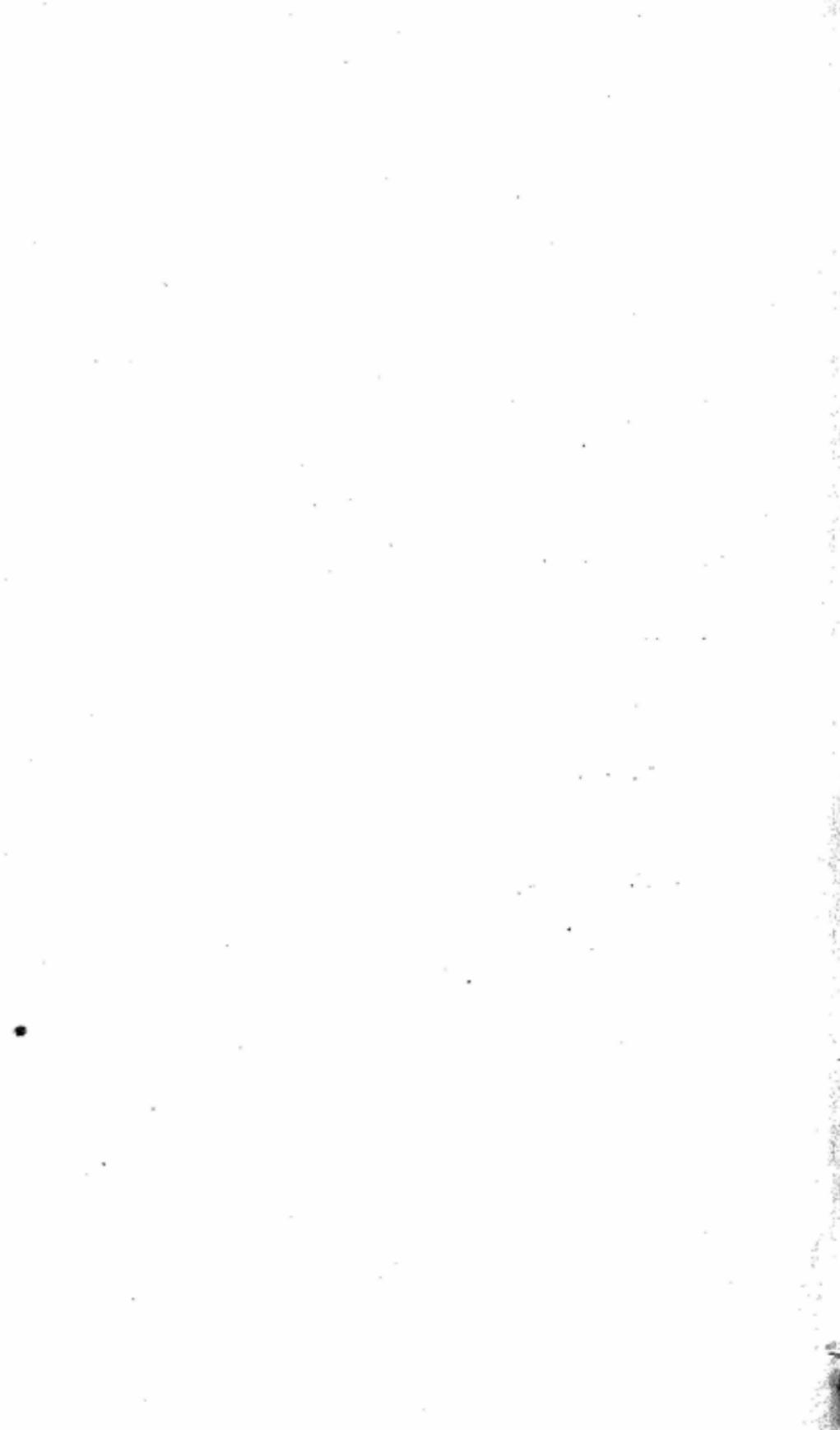
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CONTENTS OF VOL. XI.—YEAR 1877-1878.

NO.	PAGE
155.—1877. Dec. 13. GENERAL SIR ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I.—The Prevention and Counteraction of Indian Famines...	1
156.—1877. SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN, Bart.—Delegates for India ...	41
157.—1877. The Conditions and Methods of Industrial Progress in India ...	51
158.—1878. Feb. 20. JAMES ROUTLEDGE.—The Dangers and the Advantages of Parliamentary and Popular (English) Interference in the Government of India ...	73
159.—1878. March 13. W. WEDDERBURN.—The Panchayat : Conciliation as a Remedy for Agrarian Disorders in India ...	115
160.—1878. June 26. GEORGE FOGGO.—The Employment of Indian Troops in Europe ...	149
161.—1878. July 24. Annual Meeting ...	184
Annual Report, 1877—1878 ...	189



JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

The Prevention and Counteraction of Indian Famines.

PAPER BY GENERAL SIR ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I.,
READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, ON THURSDAY,
DECEMBER 13, 1877.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held in the Rooms of the Association, 20, Great George Street, Westminster, on Thursday, December 13, 1877, the subject for consideration being a paper by General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I., on "The Prevention and Counteraction of Indian Famines."

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., occupied the chair, and the meeting was largely and influentially attended. Amongst the ladies and gentlemen present were—Lieut.-General Lord Mark Kerr, General Sir George Balfour, K.C.B., M.P.; Sir T. Douglas Forsyth, K.C.S.I., C.B.; General Alexander, General Orfeur Cavenagh, Lieut.-General Colin Mackenzie, C.B.; Major-General G. Burn, Colonel P. Dods, Colonel A. B. Rathborne, Captain G. W. Cockburn, Captain William J. Eastwick, Captain Macpherson, R.E.; Captain W. C. Palmer (Hon. Secretary of the Association), Rev. James Long, Dr. G. Paton, Dr. D. H. Small, Mr. Thomas B. Potter, M.P.; Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Mr. W. Austin, C.E.; Mr. H. Bagnot, Mr. Robert Bain, Mr. W. Benson, Mr. F. Bond, Mr. William Bowden, Mr. Thomas Briggs, Mr. Peer Bukhsh, Mr. A. H. Campbell, Mr. Andrew Cassels, Mr. J. Da Costa, Mr. V. K. Dhairyavan, Mr. R. H. W. Dunlop, Mr. K. M. Dutt, Mr. J. Finlayson, Mr. H. W. Freehand, Mr. A. Grant, Mr. Corrie B. Grant, Mr. W. F. Hale, Mr. Arthur Hall, Mr. W. Hodgson, Mr. E. Hoskins, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Abul Hossan Khan, Mr. H. P. Le Mesurier, Mr. William

Maitland, Mr. William Martin, Mr. George Palmer, Mr. F. W. Pixley, Mr. G. W. Ravenhill, Mr. L. E. Rees, Mr. E. R. Robson, Mr. R. Routh, Mr. W. Shore Smith, Mr. R. B. Swinton, Mr. William Tayler, Mr. T. W. H. Tolbert, Mr. H. P. St. George Tucker, Mr. J. H. Twigg, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, Mr. Rustomjee Viccjee, Mr. Griffin W. Vyse, Mr. C. Walford, Mr. J. W. Walker, Mr. G. Pawsey Witt, Mr. J. T. Wood, Mr. Frederick Young, J.P., &c.

The CHAIRMAN said the interest and importance of the subject upon which the Association had met on the present occasion, and the reputation and standing of the gentleman who was to address them, were so well known, that neither it nor he stood in need of recommendation to a gathering of those interested in Indian affairs. (Hear, hear.) Nor did he purpose standing between Sir Arthur Cotton and the audience by offering any extended remarks on the subject for consideration. He would merely refer to two points in connection with it, one of which was frequently overlooked. As regards the first point, Colonel Chesney had shown in a recent article that if the want of rain had continued a few weeks longer, an appalling catastrophe must have ensued. The other point had not received the consideration which it had deserved. It was this: that the solemn interest and importance of the subject must continue to increase, and that remedial measures must become a more pressing and vital necessity every day. (Hear, hear.) This arose from the fact—and it was a fact—that India was increasing enormously in her population. (Hear, hear.) But, strange as it might seem, doubts had been expressed on this point by men in high position. General Strachey, for instance, would seem to admit reluctantly that the population of India might be increasing, but only slowly; and others roundly asserted that the numbers were practically stationary. He confessed his total inability to understand such a position, for it seemed against all reasoning from probabilities as well as against facts. (Hear, hear.) What had been the effect of the extension of British power throughout the great Peninsula? To impose "a Roman peace." (Hear, hear.) The strife of warlike sects, the struggles of rival potentates, the devastations of robber and assassin bands and tribes, such as the Pindaris and the Thugs, were all no more. Nor was this all. The fearful epidemics which had from time to time swept out of existence myriads of the people in India had been met and fought against with more or less success by the modern principles of sanitation which were called into play. And beyond this, we make great and successful efforts to reduce the horrors and mortality of famine; whereas in olden times the people died. And what was the result—the natural result—of all this? Why, that in the last

census it was found that, even in Bengal alone, the population was many millions in excess of even the highest estimates which had been previously formed. (Hear, hear.) With a teeming population like this, the difficulties and dangers arising from a visitation of famine were enormously increased, because the people could not move from one stricken district to another, as could once have been the case, when the population was sparse, for all cultivable districts were becoming filled. Hence his opinion that the interest and importance of the subject must continue to increase. (Hear, hear.) He would not further enlarge on the subject, but would now call upon Sir Arthur Cotton to deliver his lecture.

General Sir ARTHUR COTTON then presented the following address, which in great part was kindly read by Mr. William Tayler, as the lecturer was suffering from hoarseness :—

We now come to consider the question of Indian improvement in the terrible light which the late extreme famine has thrown upon it. May we not fairly hope that this, at least, will compel us to examine the matter, without reference to personal feelings and old prejudices, and ask, in simplicity and honesty, what can be done, first, to prevent such calamities as far as possible; and, second, to meet them when they cannot be entirely averted. I must first press upon your notice that we are not now talking about matters which require us to guess. We have now such abundance of data of every kind that we require, that there is no longer any occasion for us to pretend that it is all uncertain estimate. We have perfectly solid ground on which to work. We have laid out 160,000,000*l.* on railways, including debt (on 7,000 miles); we have in hand irrigation and navigation works that will cost, when completed, 30,000,000*l.*, including debt, of which 20,000,000*l.* have already been spent. These works will irrigate 12,000,000 acres, and provide steam-boat navigation on about 5,000 miles, of which about 5,000,000 acres are now irrigated, and 3,000 miles are now in use for navigation. These latter also include about 1,200 feet of lockage. These works also include a very considerable variety of country from the hill country of the Sub-Himalaya, the undulating country of the centre of the Peninsula, and to the tidal lands on the coast. We have, further, unhappily, the cost of mistakes and neglects, as shown in the loss from three famines within the last few years, causing the loss of, I am afraid, 2,000,000 of lives. The direct payment out of the Treasury will have been much more than 20,000,000*l.*, but what will be the total loss in revenue in years to come it is impossible to say, for the people will be so impoverished that they will be unable to pay the old amount of taxes

for some years ; and what will be the total loss to the whole people ? In this last famine alone there will be the loss of about a year's labour to 50,000,000 of people, probably 60,000,000*l.* Thus we have before us the cost and results of the three things—railways, irrigation, and navigation works—and doing nothing. What more could we require to enable us to come to some sound decision respecting our future proceedings ? Surely we need not question for one moment about the propriety of doing something. If we have to spend 20,000,000*l.* or 30,000,000*l.* out of the Treasury, and 50,000,000*l.* or 100,000,000*l.* out of the pockets of the people, whether we like it or not, let us at least cease to spend it on merely feeding the people, or rather some of the people, while we still lose millions of lives, and let us spend that very money in a way that will certainly mitigate and meet famines, if it does not really entirely prevent them. Surely the whole question now is, *How are we to spend the money ?* It is constantly said we cannot afford great works. What in the world is the use of talking in this way, when we are actually spending the money ? Is it not now the question, Could we not have spent the last 12,000,000*l.* to better purpose in providing against a famine than in what we have done ? Are there no works that we are absolutely certain, from our past trials, will go far at least to prevent famines ? This will be one of our main inquiries in this paper. But while we are keeping the famine mainly in view, let us not for a moment lose sight of the general well-being of India and England ; for one of my main fundamental points is that the well-being of the two parts of the British Empire is so bound up together that it is impossible to separate their interests. The one is exactly what the other wants. The one wants hundreds of millions of labourers and millions of tons of food and rough materials, with unlimited purchasers of her manufactures ; and the other wants an unlimited market for her produce, and an unlimited supply of manufactured goods, for the one implies the other. An orderly, industrious population of 250,000,000 cannot be sellers without being purchasers. If they sell us, for instance, 20,000,000*l.* worth of wheat, they must have in return some 20,000,000*l.* worth of some kind of goods ; and so, also, while we have tens of thousands of young fellows fit for anything and willing for anything, and hundreds of millions of unemployed capital (for both which we only require a field), they have an unbounded field for the employment of both. It is impossible that two countries could be connected which more exactly meet each other's wants. On these points we have, as I have already said, abundant proofs. But first, with respect to the famine, these points are quite certain : first, that we have not prevented famine ; and, second, we have not even prevented millions dying of famine. We have

failed both in producing food and in bringing it to the starving; that is, neither by what we have done nor by what we have left undone, have we succeeded in effectually meeting the very first want of the country. This is before our eyes. Surely there could not be greater madness nor a more gross failure in duty than to let this terrible lesson pass without considering what it teaches us. It is a most humiliating thought, that nothing less than such hurricanes will suffice to rouse us to consider. Fifty years ago I thought if we could only rescue one district from famine and poverty, such improvements would spread through the country like fire. How little I thought that even to this time the greater part of India would still be subject to these awful calamities, and the very same things said against the means which have been used with a success far beyond even the thoughts of those who recommended them, as were said before such means were tried and their results proved! Who would not suppose that when twenty or thirty districts had been rescued, there would have been any other question than how can we most rapidly apply similar remedies to all the other districts of India? When, fifty years ago, it was proposed to store water on the Neilgherries, an official minute of the Board of Revenue asked triumphantly how we could know whether the water would run to the west coast or the east coast; and exactly the same questions are asked now. As if it were beyond the power of an engineer to discover whether a certain stream ran east or west, or whether a certain tract were above or below another! One would suppose that by this time Indian engineers knew something about the levels and slopes of the country. If we may be allowed to consider that it is a settled point that doing nothing will not either prevent famine or prevent millions dying of it when it does occur, our next move must be to examine what have been the effects of what we have done, and why that has not prevented famine; for we certainly have done something, as I have stated; besides the millions that doing nothing has cost us (or rather neglecting to do sufficient), we have spent 180,000,000*l.* in doing something, and this, too, over a very considerable part of India.

Let us begin first with the principal sum expended, the 160,000,000*l.* on railways. What has this done, first, towards preventing famine, and next, for the great general wants of the country? We have now 7,000 miles of railway, extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from Kurrachee to the Burhamputra. We have seen now several times these magnificent works passing through different parts of India, with the country strewed with hundreds of thousands of skeletons, living and dead. It must be allowed, indeed, that they have prevented the deaths of millions; but then the question remains, could nothing else have done this, and that, too, without letting the others die, and at the same time

without an expenditure of 160,000,000*l.*, but, what is still of far greater importance, without preventing other and really effectual means being used? The cost of the railways has been:—

Cost of works	...	...	£109,000,000
Land, &c. ...	...	...	8,000,000
Debt, about	...	...	45,000,000
Total	...	...	£162,000,000

The nett returns last year were 4,500,000*l.*, or 3 per cent., leaving a loss of 1 per cent. on the debt and 2 per cent. on the share capital, or, together, 3,000,000*l.* per annum. This does not appear in the accounts, because the debt has been paid out of the general revenue, and, in stating the increase of the Indian debt, it is not shown how much of it is due to the railways; but this is the real state of the loss caused to India by the railways. And the quantity of work done for this money is, according to the Blue-book, 1,200,000,000 of passengers carried one mile, or an average of 170,000 a year over the whole length of 7,000 miles—470 a day; and 1,300,000,000 tons of goods one mile, or an average of 190,000 tons over the whole length, per annum. This gives an average charge of nearly a halfpenny per passenger per mile, and a little more than a penny per ton. Supposing that the passengers pay their fair share of the interest, and no more, the loss of 3,000,000*l.* must be charged to the goods, when the total cost per ton will be rather more than 1*½d.* Now, the great question is, do the railways answer the main purpose, or is it a delusion? Is a quantity of 190,000 tons, at a charge of 1*d.*, and a total cost of 1*½d.*, that which really meets the wants of the country, or is it an entire failure? What quantity of goods would indicate a tolerably healthy development of trade on main lines, extending many hundred miles through a vast population of hundreds of millions, like that of India? And what is the effect of a charge of a penny a mile on 500 or 1,000 miles on such goods as the great bulk of those consist of? Let us try it by some facts. For instance, in Mr. Leslie's project for a steamboat canal on the line between the Ganges and the Hooghly, he states that the traffic on the eastern line alone—that is, between the Hooghly and the Burhamputra—is now 1,900,000 tons a year, at present charges; and if to this we add the western traffic, at least 3,000,000 tons a year are carried. But this is under the present enormous disadvantages. First, seven-eighths of the goods are carried by the rivers 420 miles, against a direct distance of 130 miles, and by a very difficult and dangerous navigation, which takes them six weeks, and consequently at a charge of four miles for a penny, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a penny a mile on the direct distance. But this is only a very small part of the

hindrance to traffic on this line. The great hindrance is that, after the 130 miles are passed, there are hundreds of miles of such imperfect river navigation to reach the vast populations of the Upper Burhamputra and the Upper Ganges. What would be the traffic on this line if there were a direct canal of only 130 miles, carrying at one-tenth of the present cost to the Ganges, and beyond that a continuance of such a communication for 700 miles eastward and 1,000 miles westward? In that case we cannot suppose that the traffic would be less than doubled, or amount to 6,000,000 tons. If we go farther into this inquiry, we shall see that anything like a healthy development of traffic in India implies a transit of at least 2,000,000 tons, on an average, on the main lines of India, and that a traffic of 190,000 tons is nothing. Another instance is the wheat trade of the North-west. At this moment, when wheat is at an average price in England of 6s. 6d. a bushel, it cannot be brought from India with profit. It costs in the North-west 2s. 6d. on an average, and the sea transit, including merchant's charges, is about 2s. 6d.; and with land carriage at $\frac{2}{3}$ d. per ton per mile for 800 miles, about 1s. 6d. a bushel, making together the total price in England. But if nine-tenths of the cost of land carriage were saved by canal transit, there would be ample profit at this moment, and a perfectly sound trade in wheat would be permanently established. It is estimated that 35,000,000*l.* will be paid by England this year for wheat and corn; and there is nothing in the world between England and India but this cost of land carriage to prevent a traffic of some 20,000,000*l.* in these articles, even in average years. There would then be a traffic of no less than 1,500,000 tons in this one item. The sole cause that America is supplying us with wheat, and not our own country, is that America has water carriage and India has not—that is, not thoroughly effective water carriage.

Till India, with its long distances and heavy goods, has really cheap carriage, she must continue paralyzed. And so with respect to quantities, no railway can carry the quantities that India requires. What could the Eastern Bengal Railway do with the 3,000,000 tons that are now carried on that line, even if it could carry them cheaply enough? The whole project of the railways was undertaken under a total misapprehension of what India required. I tried very hard to get a real investigation of the subject before they rushed into this terrible expenditure; but not the slightest inquiry was allowed; and now, after a quarter of a century has passed, we have a burthen of 3,000,000*l.* a year on this poor country, and the whole of India paralyzed, for want of a real system of transit; in one single item foreign countries robbing it of a trade of some 20,000,000*l.* a year, and the whole country kept in a state of poverty, unable to purchase of us, solely because she cannot sell her own produce.

And so with famines : with what perfect ease, and at how small a cost, could all India come to the rescue of a suffering province, if she had a general system of steamboat canals. With canals worked by boats of 250 tons, and carrying grain 1,500 miles for 1*l.* a ton, it would be quite easy to supply with food 20,000,000 of people. I must say a few words about railways in respect of military purposes. Of all the helpless things in the world the most helpless is a railway in a country under a foreign yoke. Of course, in case of intended disturbance, the first thing, before any other move was made, the railways would be broken up in a thousand places, and all the armies of India could not protect them for twenty-four hours. The essential objection to railways as a military work is that you cannot patrol them. There are two great differences between railways and steamboat canals : one is, that you can keep armed steamers, with men on board perfectly fresh and ready for action, continually running night and day on a steamboat canal ; and the other is, that the population would be anxious to preserve the canal, because their very lives would depend upon it. But I must add, on this point, that in my opinion effective flotillas should be kept up on the rivers, whatever else is done, as by far the most dependable means in case of internal disturbance. We thus see that the railways carry 190,000 tons a year at a cost of one penny a mile, and 470 passengers a day at a halfpenny a mile ; and that they have laid a debt of 3,000,000*l.* upon India per annum—equal to a capital debt of 72,000,000*l.* at the present interest of 4 per cent. ; further, that they do not prevent famines, nor do they prevent millions dying of famine when they occur, though they do save the lives of millions, though at an enormous cost. We now come to the question of the effects of 20,000,000*l.* spent on irrigation and navigation. The first point in this inquiry is, that wherever in actual operation, as General Strachey said in his paper at the Royal Institution, “these ways of escape from famines are, indeed, already sufficiently evident ; and so far as they have been effectively supplied, they have been found to be thoroughly efficacious ; they are the provision of artificial irrigation and improved transit.” Of this we have now ample proof. The Government have undertaken thirteen very extensive projects of irrigation (of which eight are in very complete operation) in many districts, and the other five (besides one of a private company) are all in operation to some extent. Wherever these works are thus in use there is no famine ; the remedy has been quite effectual. There is one other great work in hand, which I believe is not yet at all in operation, the Sirhind canal. It is true that two of these, although carried out to such an extent as to be available for a large area of land, are yet made little use of, from the people refusing the water. This, however, is quite a new difficulty ; it is

exceptional, and, of course, may be got over any day, and certainly will. The essential point in this is, that it is no failure of the works themselves; they are, *as works*, as complete a success as the others, and when the water is used will be as effectual a remedy against famine as those. There is thus no possible room for question on this point. It is also true that the country which is suffering from famine has a multitude of old native works which have not been effectual on this occasion. The reason of this is, that they consist of tanks not filled from the great unfailing rivers, but dependent on the local rains, so that when the failure of the rain is very general they fail. They are of immense value in all ordinary years, and even years of very considerable failure of rains, but their usefulness is not complete. With respect to these, the great question is, which of them can be supplied by channels cut from great rivers? A few of them have been considerably improved, and their supply rendered more secure, but only a few of them fully so. As a man who has had charge of these districts for many years, I can say that thousands of these tanks can be securely supplied; and it is one of the very first works which should be with full purpose taken in hand. One of the principal projects that have been before the Government for years, but which has hitherto been put off, is the construction of a vast tank, some forty miles long, on a level of 1,600 feet above the sea, commanding nine-tenths of the Peninsula, from which, of course, many thousands of these tanks can be supplied. It is on the Toombudra—a noble river, with an unfailing supply of water. If this matter is taken in hand, there will be no difficulty in projecting works that will fully answer this purpose, and at an expense that is quite within range; though certainly they would not be so cheap as the Delta works. But it is not essential that all such works should return, like the three Madras Delta works, 15, 21, and 87 per cent. One of our most grievous failures in India has been the neglect of these invaluable native works. Forty years ago I urged this subject upon the Government, but to this day it has never been thoroughly dealt with, though a good deal has been done, I believe, in a desultory way. But out of the 40,000 tanks in the Madras Presidency, I believe, by far the greater proportion are in a very imperfect state of repair; whereas all ought not only to be put in thorough repair, but multitudes of them can be greatly enlarged and improved, besides being more effectually supplied.

While upon the subject of these tanks, I should mention a most remarkable fact concerning them, because it puts in a clear light one of the greatest points in this question—viz., the unaccountable prejudice there is respecting this whole subject of irrigation. In the last Madras Administration Report, just issued for 1875-6, giving in 800 pages a

most minute and detailed report of the whole internal state of the country, there is no account whatever of these 40,000 old works, upon which depend the crops on about 5,000,000 acres of rice, and the food of 10,000,000 of people. Whether these works are in repair or out of repair, whether they are effectually supplied or not, whether they are capable of improvement or not, whether the system is capable of extension or not,—nothing whatever is said on these essential points. If it were simply a question of revenue, surely the state of these works is a matter for mention in a detailed Administration Report; but when it is, as we see too terribly at this moment that it is, a case of life or death, far beyond anything that is reported in the book, what can account for its omission? If there were not a complete error somewhere, would not this be one of the very first subjects discussed in such a record? How can we err in concluding that there is a mistake in administration when such a matter is entirely overlooked? Viewed in the light of this famine, this astonishing overlooking of irrigation by the Civil Service is one of the most startling things in our administration.

It is the same with the India Office. Though there is such a multitude of old works, and though our Government are spending 20,000,000*l.* on new ones, involving the irrigation of some 15,000,000 acres and a revenue of 4,000,000*l.*, no Blue-book is published, and in the Budget speeches not a word must ever be said, on the subject, unless it is that, out of a multitude, one or two are not yet paying their interest. Of the tens of millions saved from famine, of the millions of acres secured in their harvest, of the millions added to the revenue by these means, of the vast populations raised to comparative comfort, of the vast tracts drained and provided with delicious water for drinking, and thus greatly improved in a sanitary point of view,—of all these essentials not a word must ever be said, much less must a hint be ever uttered that vast masses of goods and passengers are carried at nominal prices by effective canals, which thus give full effect to secure and cheap produce. How incredible these things are! When the country is called upon to subscribe 750,000*l.* in order to supplement the enormous sums paid out of the Treasury, is it not time for the people of England to ask for information on the whole subject? Let us now see what the expenditure of our own Government on water has effected. Mr. Thornton, the head of the Irrigation Department in the India Office—who, considering the atmosphere he has lived in, cannot be suspected of the least inclination to aggrandize irrigation, especially when his information is in direct contradiction to his own Superior's statements—has given us a carefully digested paper on the subject at a meeting of the Society of Arts, in which he says that he had been helped by the head of the Railway

Department. At this meeting Mr. Cassells was in the chair, and in the strongest manner supported all that Mr. Thornton said; so that we have every possible reason for expecting that the paper will give a substantially correct statement of facts and figures, and, at least, that he does not err on the side of too favourable a result. He, indeed, only speaks of the direct money returns to Government, and neither gives any statement of the profits to the people, nor of the amount of traffic and its cost; his paper did not extend to these points. But he gives the returns to Government at from $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the lowest, to 40 per cent., the highest, for the whole of the works in operation, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for the average of the whole, as the nett return. And in this account he includes as capital what he supposes had been expended on the same works under the former Governments. In this statement I am satisfied that a careful investigation of his figures will show that he is decidedly under the truth. For instance, the Madras Government, in their last Blue-book, state the highest profit at 87 per cent., and there is no danger of their erring on the side of excess. This, though not the only point, nor by any means the most important (for the total results of the works must be incomparably the chief question), is yet one of vast importance; for if we have, while serving our apprenticeship, actually realized more than double the Government interest of money on the whole of the works in operation, we have every possible assurance that we may safely proceed with the undertaking, so far as the provision of capital is concerned. We now proceed with all the immense advantage of our very extensive experience. We have certainly, in two cases, lately met with a new difficulty that we had not encountered before—viz., the refusal of the people to use the water; but it is as certain as the day that this difficulty will be soon got over—as certain as that a London tradesman would find some way of getting over any difficulty he encountered in selling good and cheap manufactures. In one of these cases, indeed, this difficulty has already been in some measure got over through the pressure of the famine. But now with respect to the other two points adverted to—viz., the results in traffic, and in the total effects of irrigation. In considering the first, we must keep in view that the present canals nowhere form great main lines extending 500 or 1,000 miles in one direction, but are merely isolated patches extending only 50 or 100 miles, and consequently the traffic must be only a fraction of what it would be if the patches were united into long lines. Moreover, short as they are, it is also only in one case or two that they terminate in a seat of Government. What would be the traffic on the railways if they only extended 50 or 100 miles in one place, and that in the interior of the country, away from the great centres of commerce? For

instance, the Midnapoor canal, extending only 70 miles from Calcutta and terminating at Midnapoor, not a great city, had a traffic, by the last return, at the rate of 150,000 tons per annum; and the Orissa tidal canal, extending 60 miles from Calcutta, and ending at nothing in the heart of the Delta, had a traffic of 140,000 tons; and the main caanl, in the Godavery district, forming part of a line of only 160 miles, and quite away from the great centres, had a traffic of 200,000 tons. What would the traffic on these lines be if they formed part of grand lines connecting 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 of people with primary ports, and extending 1,000 miles between Calcutta, Madras, Hyderabad, and Central India? They would certainly form lines of traffic of some 2,000,000 tons per annum.

And with respect to the cost of transport by this means: they are now carrying, on the Godavery canal, in the small native boats, and for short distances of 40 or 50 miles, at one-eighth of a penny. On long distances of 500 or 1,000 miles, and with boats of 250 tons, goods could certainly be carried 20 miles for 1d. per ton. The actual *cost* in England, with very short distances, is only 1d. for 10 miles. Thus a bushel of wheat would be brought from the North-west to Calcutta or Kurrachee, 1,000 miles, for 1½d.—quite a nominal rate. The average charge on the railways, besides the money paid out of the Treasury, is 1d., and the charge by the rivers is a farthing a mile on the length of their course—equal to three-eighths of a penny direct, besides very heavy insurance, making it, perhaps, a halfpenny. I should mention that the above traffic on the Orissa canals is, in spite of a toll of a farthing, an almost prohibitory charge, and which ought to be reduced to one-twentieth of a penny, or rather, be abolished; for as the water is not worn by being used, and the interest will be paid by the irrigation, it is for the benefit of the State that the uttermost use should be made of the canals in this way.

The general result of our proceedings in the way of irrigation and navigation, and that on a very considerable scale, is, that to irrigate, embank, drain, and supply with drinking water, and provide perfectly effective transport, costs from 1*l.* to 3*l.* an acre; that the increase of produce is about 1*l.* to 2*l.* an acre for common grains; that we can carry passengers at about ½d. per mile, and goods at one-twentieth per ton; everything being conveyed at its own most suitable speed, without interfering one with another, and with power to land and discharge at every point on both sides. How can there be possibly any question about these being the works suited to India, with its poverty, its long distances, its liability to famine, and its main traffic of heavy produce?

I will now state some facts which, I hope, will help to put these

things in their true light. First, with respect to the Godavery Delta works. It is now thirty years since these works were begun, and at this time only 700,000 acres are irrigated, leaving 300,000 acres still un-supplied, though from the very first there has never been a shadow of a doubt about their prodigious results. They have cost just 1*l.* an acre; the water-rate is 8*s.*; the increase at least 2*l.* per acre. The direct returns to Government are, according to Mr. Thornton, 40; to General Strachey, some years ago, 28; to the Madras Report, 21 per cent.; and yet it has been found impossible to get 1,000,000*l.* expended on them; while 160,000,000*l.* have been found for railways, without a word of discussion in Parliament or out of it, as a mere matter of course; and the expenditure is still continued at the rate of 3,000,000*l.* or 4,000,000*l.* a year, though the late works are not paying 1 per cent. And all this declared to be entirely with reference to finance; for it was said by the Secretary of State at Manchester, "I believe the *financial* future of India depends "upon a good development of her railways." Is it possible that there could be a greater contradiction between facts and inferences? The estimate for completing the Godavery works is, I believe, 300,000*l.*, or 1*l.* an acre, and the water-rate 8*s.*, or 40 per cent., besides the increase of the general revenue. My next fact is the Upper Godavery navigation. When, in the course of twenty-five years, 700,000*l.* had been spent on 400 miles of river, and the works were almost completed, to open the populous country to the coast, to carry the coal, oil seeds, cotton, &c., to the coast, and salt, rice, foreign goods, &c., to the interior, and when only some 20,000*l.* were wanted to complete the second barrier works, they were stopped by order of the Secretary of State, at the desire of the Governor-General, and the whole expenditure rendered of little use till wiser men come to the front. This capital of 2,000*l.* a mile would have given a transit at a halfpenny a ton a mile for about eight months in the year, which alone would have been quite effective to open this vast population to the markets of the world, and to supply our ports on the east coast with coal and cotton; and 300,000*l.* more would have stored sufficient water both to keep the river open the remaining months, and to supply the Delta at the same time with abundance, to keep the canals filled in the dry months, which would have far more than paid the interest of the money, giving the navigation for nothing. We should thus have had this most important line of internal communication at about a farthing a ton a mile for 2,000*l.* a mile, not only on the 400 or 500 miles of the Upper Godavery, but giving also great additional effect to the hundreds of miles of the Delta navigations, and now to the coast canal which is being completed to Madras. There would thus have been 1,500 miles of connected navigation between the Upper Godavery and

Madras. Now let us put in contrast with this what has been done in this part of India. At the very time that it was found impossible to complete this navigation, three short lines of railway have been executed, together 60 miles in length. The cost of these is 520,000*l.*, or 9,000*l.* a mile. Of this, 30 miles are in use, and the returns are 100*l.* a mile, or 1 per cent.; and the quantity carried is 20,000 tons, and the receipts for goods are 100,000*l.*, or 330*l.* a mile, which gives a charge of 4d. a ton a mile. But the loss in working the line, allowing 4 per cent. interest, is 7,000*l.*, which, if added to the charge, makes the total cost of carrying these goods 7d. a ton a mile, or three times what it would cost to convey them by a common road. Think of half a million being spent on 60 miles, to carry 20,000 tons a year, at a cost of 7d. a ton a mile, while it was impossible to find 20,000*l.* to complete a line of 450 miles to carry at a halfpenny a mile. And these railways are actually shut for five months in the year, because there is nothing to carry; and all this is done solely for economy, and in the interests of finance. And on one of these lines of 46 miles there is a river which can be made a good navigation for 2,000*l.* a mile, and would convey at one-hundredth part of the cost by the present railways; that is, at one-fifteenth of a penny per mile. Yet this is what is now actually doing in the way of spending the public money of India, at the rate of 3,000,000*l.* or 4,000,000*l.* a year. I must give another case. The Government had actually begun to cut a canal by the side of the railway, from Calcutta to the coal-fields at Burdwan, because it had become intolerable to compel Calcutta to pay the rate of land carriage for coal, when it could be brought by water for three rupees a ton less. But when there was a report that coal had been found at Midnapoor, to which there was a canal, the Burdwan canal was stopped. On the removal of the convict who had charge of the boring at Midnapoor, coal ceased to come up from the bore, but it was not thought necessary then to resume the Burdwan canal, and Calcutta continues to pay its needless three rupees a ton for coal. Again, the Lower Ganges canal was ordered to be stopped short of Allahabad, entirely for the purpose of preventing the people carrying their goods cheaply to that great mart, and thus rendered, in a great measure, useless the hundreds of miles of canal above. Thus what I feared when first the railways were proposed has fully come to pass—viz., that the whole object now is to prevent the country having cheap transit, and for fear of this even to stop irrigation, because the one necessarily involves the other. Again, the late Governor of Bengal ordered the main western canal from the Soane to be stopped, though an essential part of the irrigation works; and when this was overruled by the Governor-General he ordered that it should not be

connected with the Ganges; and when he was appointed to the Indian Council he succeeded in getting an order sent out to stop the cutting of the canal itself, overruling the Governor-General in turn.

It is impossible to mistake the bearing of these things. They show distinctly that the mistake that has been made must be persisted in in spite of everything, whatever it costs the Treasury, or India, or England; anything rather than do what would imply an acknowledgment of our mistake. The general result of our present expenditure on *State* railways is 14,000,000*l.* of capital, with a nett return of 110,000*l.*, or $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., and a traffic of 33,000,000 tons a mile, or an average of 31,000 tons over 930 miles, at a charge of 246,000*l.*, or $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ per ton per mile, and adding to this the loss in interest, $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on 15,000,000*l.*, or 500,000*l.*—5*d.* a ton a mile; double what it would cost by a road, and *one hundred times* what it would cost by a steamboat canal, to say nothing of the utterly insignificant traffic of 31,000 tons; and the passengers were about 300 per day. Now, are we to continue to spend 9,000*l.* a mile on railways to carry 31,000 tons, at 5*d.* a ton a mile, including loss of interest, with 300 passengers a day, at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per mile, without preventing famines, or even preventing loss of life when famines occur; or are we to open steamboat canals, at 3,000*l.* a mile, conveying passengers at $\frac{1}{2}d.$, and goods at one-twentieth, with five or ten times the numbers and quantities, and either entirely preventing famines by irrigation, or at least entirely preventing loss of life by cheap and abundant transit of grain? We are now actually spending 3,000,000*l.* or 4,000,000*l.* a year on works, and much more in trying, in vain, to keep alive the sufferers from famine. Is it not the question how this 10,000,000*l.* or 12,000,000*l.* a year are to be spent in future, not whether we can find the money or not? But in thus providing against famine by works which will really accomplish our purpose, we cannot help at the same time providing all India with both cheap food and cheap transit, raising the whole country, in some good measure, as Tanjore, Godavery, and Kistna, and many districts in the Punjab and the North-west have been raised.

In our dealings with India we must exercise sound judgment, otherwise all will be worse than in vain. I try to illustrate this great subject by the case of a landlord and tenant. Suppose one landlord anxious to deal justly and generously with his tenants, and judging from his own wants and circumstances, bought carriages and horses, and built handsome stables and coach-houses for all of them, charging them interest for the cost, and compelling them to keep up coachmen and grooms, and feed the horses, but left the farm and farm buildings utterly unimproved. Suppose another, equally kind but a little more judicious, considered the

circumstances of his tenants, and leaving them on their legs or their ponies, repaired the farm-house, the cart-stables, barns, fences, roads, &c., drained the land, steam-ploughed it, &c., and left it in a condition to produce fair crops in all seasons, and, on an average, three times what it did before. Which would be considered the most conscientious landlord, and which the wisest, even for his own interests? If, after being thus placed in a condition of comparative opulence, a tenant could afford it, and thought proper to set up his carriage, who would think him wrong? This really and fairly represents the case of our management of India, as Lord Derby said, twenty years ago: "It seemed to be thought that, "because costly lines of railway were suitable to this country (before a "line was constructed, we had a complete system of canals adequate "to our heavy traffic), they were equally suitable for India. He "believed, and so did more competent judges, that that system of pro- "ceeding was a *complete mistake*."

There are now before the Government, and have been for years, about a dozen more thoroughly investigated and estimated projects of irrigation and navigation. Many of these have been fully approved by Government, and nothing is wanting to put them instantly in hand, besides the fully carrying out those works which have been actually in hand for years, but are still kept in an imperfect state; such as the Orissa Works, the Godavery Navigation, the Lower Ganges, the Soane, the Kistna, the Toombadru, and numerous works in Bombay. Besides these, any amount of works of storage, irrigation, and navigation could be estimated in a few months; so that there is nothing to prevent a general commencement of these works, perfectly suitable both to avert famine and meet all the great wants of the country.

But there is a special reason for works of navigation, in that, in our, present circumstances, the result of a small expenditure will be far beyond anything we have yet seen, because we only want short lines to give effect to lines of canal of ten times their length. The question with those links is, not whether they will pay interest on the money they cost. For instance, the line from Allahabad to Mirzapoore, that is, to connect the Lower Ganges canals with those of the Soane, 50 miles—will cost perhaps 8,000*l.* a mile, including the Jumna Aqueduct; but it will cause an enormous increase of traffic in 1,000 miles of canal north of Allahabad, and in 500 at present of the Soane canals. It is probable thus that this 50 miles, costing half a million, will produce a traffic of 500,000 tons on 1,500 miles, or 750,000,000 tons one mile; so that to pay 7 per cent. on the 400,000*l.* or 28,000*l.* would require a toll of only one-hundredth part of a penny per ton per mile. And so with the 130 miles between the Hooghly and Burhamputra, with the 80 miles

to complete the line between Calcutta and Cuttack, with the 80 miles between the North Coast Canal and the 190 miles of the Irrigation Companies' Canals, and with the 100 miles now cutting to complete the North Coast Canal to the Kistna and Godaverry. The effect of executing these short links will be at least 100 times that of spending the same money on railways—more likely 1,000 times.

I need not here go into particulars respecting other works of this kind that might be executed, besides those already estimated. I will only say, speaking with the utmost confidence from my long experience, that all the great lines of India through the populous points may be opened by steamboat canals at practicable cost; that all the multitude of old works may be greatly improved, extended, and more securely supplied; that every district in India may be to some considerable extent irrigated; and that there are innumerable sites for storing water on the grandest scale, for which last Colonel Fyfe has set us the great example in the two noble tanks of Poona and Sholapore, each capable of holding 140,000,000 cubic yards, and of delivering at least 400,000,000 per annum.

I may take the opportunity of adding one or two remarks.

One is, that I utterly disagree with those who are continually complaining of the hopeless state of India. I am perfectly satisfied that, in spite of our terrible mistakes, it is rapidly advancing. The vast increase of its trade, even without cheap transit, is an unmistakable proof of this. And there are two things which I consider certain proofs of the improved condition of the mass of the people, poor as they still are: one is the great increase of railway traffic, even at their ruinous charges, and the other is the increased consumption of salt. The last I consider the best possible index of the state of the labouring population. Nobody eats too much salt, and the first thing a vegetarian people do when they can afford it is to add salt to their rice. Terrible indeed it is to think that still they use less than half what they require. The irrigation works will indeed doubly meet the salt-tax; first, it will enable the Government easily to do without it; and secondly, it will enable the people easily to pay it. If every district in India were paying, like Godaverry, 570,000*l.* a year, the Government could simply take off its salt-tax of 1*s.* a head, or 75,000*l.* a year for 1,500,000, and if, as there, the Government works added 1*l.* a head to the income of the people, they could easily pay 1*s.* out of it.

So also with the finances. Even as matters now are, and in spite of this 160,000,000*l.* so unwisely spent on the railways, I am satisfied that the finances are in quite a sound state, so far as the *amount* of the revenue goes. No words, indeed, can express the wickedness of that

derived from opium ; and if there is a certain thing in the world, it is that retribution is hanging over us, for this raising 6,000,000*l.* a year by inflicting on another nation a curse which no words can measure. It is with reference to this that, as one of my primary objects, I wish to urge the execution of such works as are suited to the condition of India. There is not the slightest necessity for such dreadful ways of obtaining money as this opium dealing. There is plenty of money to be made honestly in India. Six millions is only 40,000*l.* a year on each of the 160 districts of India ; while the revenue of Godavery has been raised by honest and honourable means—350,000*l.* a year ; and if the works are completed, it will certainly pay 150,000*l.* a year more, or, in all, 500,000*l.* above its former revenue,—twelve times its share of the opium tax. And this, as an isolated district, cut off from the rest of India, from want of internal communication. What would it rise to, if it were within reach of all the markets of India, and could share in their coal, timber, stone, and innumerable other products ? What would be the state of England now, if it were not that the almost abolition of the cost of ocean transit had placed within her reach the products of all the world, at least those which are not too far from the coast, or are near the great rivers ?

I must not attempt to detain you by answering the various assertions that are now made against the views shown in this paper. I have, I believe, really answered all the leading ones in the course of it ; but perhaps I ought to answer the main one, which has been rather unceremoniously made by an ex-Secretary of State—viz., that nothing I say ought to be listened to from such a visionary. My answer to this is from the last India Office Blue-book, which I may surely fairly quote in reply to an Indian Secretary. It is this : “ The works of the districts of “ Kistna, Godavery, and Tanjore are returning, on an average of years, “ 15, 21, and 87 per cent.” Now, these are the works that I have been chiefly connected with. Now, may I not fairly ask, are such results proofs that they are the works of a visionary ? May I not urge that such results are so far proofs of a practical man, as that it may be worth while to hear what he says, especially when he brings forward nothing but facts and figures and arguments supported by them ? I may also ask, if India has such extraordinary capabilities that a mere visionary can obtain such results, what might we not expect could be done in it by men of sound judgment and of many ideas, such as I trust the present crisis will bring to the front ?

APPENDIX.

OPINIONS OF PUBLIC MEN ON IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION IN INDIA.

THE EARL OF DERBY ON IRRIGATION IN INDIA.

In his speech before the Cotton Association in Manchester, in 1857, Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, said : " It seemed to him one of the most practical questions the Association could attend to, to give information on these points ; " the two great things, roads and irrigation. As to roads, he was afraid we were " in danger of being misled by the precedent and example of England. It seemed " to be thought that because costly lines of railway were suitable for this country " (before a line was constructed we had a complete system of canals, adequate to " our heavy traffic), they were equally suitable for India. He believed, and so " did more competent judges, that that system of proceeding was a *complete mistake*. What was wanted in India was not costly lines for rapid travelling, " laid down in a few parts, but a comparatively inexpensive, though slow means " of communication extended over all India."

LORD NORTHBROOK,

in a speech at Winchester this month, November, 1877, said : " Now, however, " that the crisis was over, every inquiry would doubtless be made to see if any " further measures could be adopted to meet the difficulty in future by irrigation " or by other means."

Mr. MONIER WILLIAMS, in his letter to the *Times*, dated Madura, December 2, 1876, says : " All the belts of land reached by the grand system of irrigation " which stretches between the Godaverry, Kistna, and Cauvery Rivers (fertilizing " the soil wherever it reaches, and forcing even the haters of English rule to admit " that no other raj ever conferred on India such benefits), present a marvellous " contrast to the immense tracts of arid waste which meet the eye of the traveller " as he travels by the Great Indian Peninsula, the Madras, and the South India " railways." And in the *Times* of November 7, 1877, the same writer says : " In " other directions we might do more. For example, we might carry on a more " systematic defensive warfare against drought and famine, by the storage of " water in tanks and its distribution for irrigation. India is blessed with abundant " rivers. Why are not more ancuts, canals, and reservoirs made ? Why should " the water of any manageable river be allowed to waste itself in the sea ? "

Mr. BRADLEY LESLIE, Chief Engineer of the Eastern Bengal Railway, who had just completed an extension of that railway to Goalundo, the junction of the Burhamputra and Ganges, 130 miles from Calcutta, completing the connection of the Hooghly with that river and the Ganges, immediately wrote a letter to the merchants of Calcutta on the subject of a canal on that line which had been proposed, in which he says : " With respect to the revenue, when a canal of

"sufficient capacity is once available, there can be no doubt that it would command the whole goods traffic, provided the tolls were not too high. The present eastern traffic is 1,900,000 tons per annum, and it is rapidly increasing. A toll of half-a-crown (a farthing a mile) on this traffic, would yield a return of £237,000 l , sufficient to pay all expenses and yield a return of 11 per cent. on the capital outlay of two millions sterling." (Colonel Haig, the Secretary of Government for Irrigation, thinks this estimate of cost far too high.) Assuming the actual cost of transport to be one shilling per ton, the total cost of goods would be 3s. 6d., at which rate there would be a saving of 840,000 l on the eastern traffic alone, as compared with the present cost of transport by rail, boat, and steamer. This sum is equal to a tax of 8 or 10 per cent. on the eastern district, caused by the want of adequate means of cheap transit, and to relieve its eastern provinces of such a tax, the Government cannot in justice refuse to grant a concession to a company for providing a canal from Goalundo to Calcutta." There would thus, according to the estimate of a railway engineer, be a saving on a single line of 130 miles (including the western traffic) of much more than a million sterling per annum, besides paying a nett profit of 11 per cent.

GENERAL STRACHEY.

General Strachey, a member of the India Council, in a paper which he read at the Royal Institution, on the 18th of May, 1877, said : "We must be content to pass through a condition of periodical suffering of an acute kind, during which ways of escape from these evils will be gradually perfected. These ways of escape are indeed already sufficiently evident, and so far as they have been sufficiently supplied, they have been found to be thoroughly efficacious ; they are the provision of artificial irrigation and improved transit. And he has passed a large part of his life in seeking for the means of extending those essential material allies in the battle of Indian life."

RETURNS OF THE GODAVERY WORKS.

Page 50, Parliamentary Papers 389 of 1870, the same officer states the accounts of the year '65-'66 to be as follows : Total outlay, 470,000 l . ; nett return in water-rates, &c., after deducting repairs, establishment, &c., 138,000 l , or 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. General Strachey writes : "The figures which I have given are avowedly only approximate, but are probably not far from the truth."

MR. THORNTON, the head of the Irrigation Department of the India Office, read a paper at the Society of Arts, on the 5th May, 1876, on the general results of irrigation from the new works constructed by our Government, in which he states that he was assisted by Mr. Danvers, the head of the Railway Department, whose prejudices, if he had any, would naturally be against these works, and as his testimony is in direct contradiction to his superior, the Secretary of State, as declared at Manchester, in a speech he made before the Chamber of Commerce, we have every possible proof that the opinions expressed by him are the result of the most cautious investigation. The opinions he expresses indeed are entirely opposed to everything that has been said in both Houses of Parliament in all the Indian discussions by the officials, and to the views of the great majority of the Council of India. In this paper, Mr. Thornton gives the return of all the irrigation works carried out by our Government, which are now in operation, at from 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, the lowest, to 40 per cent., the highest, and the average 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. We cannot

imagine that a man so situated has erred on the side of making the returns too great. He has, in fact, stated them considerably under the mark; but what he states is quite sufficient to give entire satisfaction as to the effects of this mode of improving India. Mr. Thornton's remarks on this result are : "Even to myself, "these are unexpected favourable results, and they will most probably take other "people by surprise; but they will, I hope, be allowed to be honestly reached." He adds: "The enormous outlay consequent on the famine of 1874 must have "been more enormous still but for the Soane Canal, which even then, in its im- "perfect condition, and when the entire expenditure had not risen above 800,000L, "enabled luxuriant harvests valued at 500,000L to be brought to maturity over "159,000 acres, where otherwise every green leaf must have been parched into "powder; and in the rainless autumn of 1860, when other districts in the north- "west were baked as if in an oven, the Ganges Canal preserved grain crops enough "for the sustenance of more than a million of people, who must otherwise have "perished. If the direct savings in this way were added to direct annual earnings, "the result would be a total that would convince the most sceptical that, re- "garded as a whole, the investment of the Anglo-Indian Government in irri- "gation works has hitherto been decidedly the reverse of unprofitable."

MR. CASSELLS.

Mr. Cassells, a member of the India Council, was Chairman on the occasion of the reading of Mr. Thornton's paper, and he said: "He felt very proud to "think that he had insisted on this subject being brought forward, and had "asked Mr. Thornton to take it in hand. As a merchant long acquainted with "trade, he concurred in the fullest manner in what Sir Arthur Cotton had said, "as to the necessity of providing cheap transit if you want a country to prosper ; "in fact, it was the foundation of all good trade and national wealth. He begged "to assure him, however, that there were those on the Indian Committee who "never lost an opportunity of insisting on that policy, and he only wished that he "were a few years younger, that he might live to see things done in India which "he felt sure would be done in the next generation. There was water enough in "the country, if it were utilized, and he yet hoped to see many excellent "works of irrigation carried out."

We have thus the clear testimony of four members of the India Office itself, two members of Council, and two heads of departments, the Irrigation and Railway Departments, to the ample profits from irrigation works, in direct contradiction to the assertion of the Secretary of State at Manchester, that "in those cases where "we began the projects of irrigation for ourselves, we have not yet reached, I "believe, in any one instance the desired result of a clear balance sheet." If this does not constitute a call for a commission of known and approved men, independent of the India Office, to investigate the subject, what could ?

In the *Times* of the 27th of November a correspondent, writing from Madras, says : "The history of the Madras famine will, I suppose, fall to be written by an "official; but I desire to record it as my deliberate opinion, founded on a some- "what extended acquaintance with the varied views of the local and supreme "Governments, that a true and impartial history of the famine, and of the opera- "tions for its relief, will never be obtained unless the Empress of India signifies "her imperial and royal pleasure to the appointment of a Royal Commission to

"inquire into, and take evidence in regard to, the whole subject. But, as a matter of fact, the true principles of dealing with a famine have yet to be evolved and discussed. We want to know at what period in the existence of food scarcity relief measures are needed, and the nature and degree of relief which experience has shown to be most efficacious in preserving the people, with the best methods of distributing the public burthen, so as to economise expenditure of money, and save people alive. A Royal Commission empowered to collect evidence as to facts, would, I venture to think, obtain the most trustworthy data for the deduction of principles for the future management of famines." Nothing can be more certain than this: an official investigation would be nothing in the world but a search for means of proving that there had been nothing but the highest wisdom in the whole conduct of the famine arrangements, and that nothing whatever could be learnt from it, by which we might be enabled to act more wisely and efficaciously in future. Such an inquiry would be an entire farce, and do far more harm than good. We must have a commission composed of men whose object is not to screen themselves, but to learn all we can from this lesson that we have had.

REVIEW OF "COLONEL COTTON ON PUBLIC WORKS IN INDIA," IN THE "TIMES"
OF DECEMBER 28, 1853.

"It is the solution of what has always been considered a most difficult and intricate problem; it sheds a flood of light over the dark future of our Indian possessions; and, while scarcely yielding in cogency of argument to mathematical demonstration, arrives at results at once practical and scientific—at once of general truth and immediate usefulness. Such as it is, we not only earnestly commend it to the study of young and old India, of Presidents and Directors, but of every English gentleman who wishes to understand how the resources of modern science may be brought to bear on the happiness of individuals and communities, and how those principles which every one is anxious to apply to his own estate may be used for the regeneration of a mighty empire."

EXTRACT FROM THE PROGRESS REPORT OF INDIA FOR 1875-6.
(Issued July 31, 1877.)

P. 234.—Capital outlay on Godavery Works, 740,000L; on the Kistna Works, 460,000L. The nett revenue from the capital outlay on the Godavery, Kistna, and Cauvery Delta Works, for a series of years, was estimated at 21, 15, and 86 per cent. respectively.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. JOHN BRIGHT'S SPEECH AT MANCHESTER,
DECEMBER 11, 1877.

Now, then, we come to the question whether there be no remedy. There are some misfortunes that the moment you find the cause you find the remedy. If a man suffers from hunger you give him something to eat. Daniel O'Connell said, when the horse was starving, "Have you tried corn?" What you hear of as the calamity of India is that there is famine, and that the famine arises from drought; that there is a lack of water, or at least a lack of water in the right place and at the right time. There is always soil and there is always sun, and there is always rain, but the rain is not always where you want it, and it is not at the particular time just as much or as little as you want it. But if you have the soil, and sun, and water, and human labour, you may have a rich harvest throughout a great

portion of India. Now that is a very simple doctrine, which I suppose very few people will be disposed to dispute. With the rains falling there is some difficulty, because the rain comes down there—it does not rain as we say here, cats and dogs—tigers and lions, or anything else you may use as an illustration. Then sometimes the heavens are as brass, and there is no rain, not only for weeks, but for months. Now what is the remedy? Everybody has known the remedy for centuries. If there was before you—as I have seen—a map of the Presidency of Madras, you would think there was no dry land for the people to live upon. You will understand that what Sir A. Cotton means by tanks is not the sort of thing we call a tank here, but it is a large reservoir of sometimes miles in extent, like some of our greatest lakes. Well, this map of Madras is marked out with these tanks or reservoirs from north to south and from east to west, and it shows that the rulers and the people of those ancient days had just the same evil to contend with that we have, and that they manfully did their best to subdue it. Our Government knows perfectly well what is the remedy, because what is it they do? Why, whenever there is a famine, they begin to think about some manner of irrigating that particular district. They generally wait till the horse is stolen before they lock the stable door. I give you an extract here. I quote from a very excellent article in the *Fortnightly Review*, by Colonel Chesney, who by many persons will be admitted to be a great authority. He says: "The Ganges Canal was the outcome of the great famine of 1833, the new project in the Doab of the famine of 1861, the Orissa works of that of 1866." He continues: "Oude has escaped famines so far, and in Oude no irrigation works have been constructed." And then he goes on to say that the Indian Government is very like a father who spends a great deal on the doctor or the nurse if his child is ill and ready to die, but in ordinary times does not take the smallest care of him whatever, or teach him anything with regard to the preservation of his own health. That is the policy the Indian Company in past times pursued, and which the Indian Government yet is pursuing for the most part with regard to that very large child. It has the care of the 250,000,000 of people in our Indian Empire. Now I have given you the opinion of Colonel Chesney. I might give you the opinion of one or two others. I won't trouble you with quotations, and I do not think the question requires it, but Sir Charles Trevelyan, who is one of the most intelligent men who have been connected with the Indian Government, and who has been Governor of the Province of Madras, on hearing a paper read by Sir Arthur Cotton, said he was satisfied that with a thorough system of irrigation famines would be impossible. On what Sir Arthur Cotton has done on the Godavery and Kistna, he says: "If all India were treated in the same way, famines would be impossible." Now I give you the opinion of Sir Bartle Frere, a very distinguished Indian servant, who is now sent out, as you know, as governor of the South African dominions of the Crown, the Cape of Good Hope. He says: "It is the fashion to deny the facts regarding the results of the irrigation works on which Sir Arthur Cotton's calculations are based, but I feel certain that the more they are tested, the more clearly it will be seen that in no other way can money be so advantageously expended with a view to future production and cheap supply, as on great works of irrigation and internal navigation." Now, I have given you the opinions there of three persons. I might keep you an hour in reading those of men almost equally distinguished, and to the same effect; but I take it for granted that when we have the judgment of past Governments—I mean the ancient Governments of India—the judgment of our own Government of Ludia when a calamity occurs, the

opinion of Colonel Chesney, or Sir Charles Trevelyan, or Sir Bartle Frere, or Sir Arthur Cotton, and I venture to say also the unanimous opinion of all the intelligent engineers who are connected with India, we must come to this one conclusion, that as we have found out what is the calamity under which these people die, we have also found out the remedy by which they might, if it had been applied, have been kept alive. They say that Sir Arthur Cotton is an enthusiast; well, we have all been enthusiasts in our time, and it would be a dull world if there were no real and honest enthusiasm in it. But Sir A. Cotton is not surpassed by any man in the Indian service for long experience and for great success in the works with which he has been connected, and which he has undertaken; he has broader and grander views than some of his competitors, or some of his fellow officers, or those connected with the Government; but he knows that this is a great question, that India is a great country, that 250,000,000 of people are a great people, and therefore he thinks that a broader and a grander policy is necessary on this occasion.

Mr. WILLIAM MAITLAND said he desired to offer a few remarks regarding the following passage in Sir Arthur Cotton's address : "I "utterly disagree with those who are continually complaining of the "hopeless state of India. I am perfectly satisfied that, in spite of our "terrible mistakes, it is rapidly advancing. The vast increase of its "trade, even without cheap transit, is an unmistakable proof of this. "And there are two things which I consider certain proofs of the "improved condition of the mass of the people, poor as they still are : "one is the great increase of railway traffic, even at their ruinous "charges, and the other is the increased consumption of salt." He referred to these words because of the incident of the great meeting which had just been held in Manchester, at which Mr. John Bright was present and made a speech. The great orator then made use of an expression to the effect that India was a bankrupt State. He could not help expressing his deep regret that Mr. Bright had used such words, because, as an old Indian merchant, he (the speaker) did not believe that it was in any sense true to say that India was bankrupt. (Hear, hear.) And Mr. Bright's colleague at the Manchester meeting—Sir Arthur Cotton—was evidently of the same opinion, as the quotation just cited would show. (Hear, hear.) To say that India was bankrupt was to show an inability to appreciate the weight of easily ascertained facts; and it was to be greatly deplored that Mr. Bright's words should be spread all over the world. Various opinions of eminent gentlemen had been cited by Sir Arthur Cotton in support of the irrigation system, and it would be well, therefore, to quote the opinion of a high authority—Lord Northbrook—in reference to railways, and their advantages as compared with canals. Speaking at a meeting of the Society of Arts, in February last, the occasion being a debate on a paper by Mr. Juland

Danvers on Indian Railways, Lord Northbrook said: "They had heard from the author of the paper that the charge upon the Government revenue would be only half a million next year. That was the broad result. Now, he did not think any one who had any knowledge of India could doubt that that was one of the most profitable investments that ever was made by a great nation. He agreed with one of the speakers that the greatest credit was due to those who encouraged that system, and had carried it through to the present time, and especially to Lord Dalhousie, the eminent Governor-General of India. He had a thorough knowledge of the railroad system in this country, and he applied his great abilities to the subject on his arrival in India with, to his mind, great success. . . . It had been remarked that, in regard to dealing with famine in India, the extension of railways there was the most effective means of guarding against any such calamity. It had also been mentioned by Mr. Danvers that, during the time of the scarcity in Bengal in 1873-74, there were no less than 800,000 tons of food grain brought into the famine districts by means of railroads. That was perfectly accurate, and what he had simply to add was that it was only the existence of railroads in India that had made it possible for any Government, with any exertions and at the expenditure of any sums of money, to meet these calamities. They had heard of famines that had taken place in former times in which there had been great mortality, such as the one in Rajpootana, where the scenes were perfectly heartrending. It was impossible at that time in any manner to have met that calamity. The distance from the parts of India in which there was plenty, and the difficulties of transport, were so great, that he did not believe any foresight would have met that famine in Rajpootana then. On the other hand, at the present time, he thoroughly believed, from what he had heard elsewhere, that the measures which the Indian Government and the Governments of Madras and Bombay were now adopting to meet the scarcity in these districts, would be successful. They would be successful mainly, in his opinion, because of the railroads, which now traversed almost the whole area of scarcity, and enabled the enormous quantity of food grain now produced in India to be conveyed to those parts of the country which required it. What he would say was that railways were very good things, and the extension of trade in India very desirable." These words were uttered by one who had not merely been Viceroy of India, but who belonged to the family of Barings—a race of merchant princes who were known throughout the whole commercial world; and he plainly stated in the same speech that "the finances of India were in a perfectly sound condition." Mr. Maitland proceeded to remark that many years

ago, when President of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, he had met Sir Arthur Cotton on this same subject of irrigation. He (Mr. Maitland) said then, as he said now, that while giving Sir Arthur Cotton every credit for entire conscientiousness in holding the strong views he had always entertained on the subject, he much regretted that he could not go with him in his belief that irrigation was the only panacea required for India. Sir Arthur might be, and probably was, right in urging the immense benefits of irrigation, but it was a great pity that he (and Mr. Bright too, apparently) had got into his head the idea that nothing else but irrigation should be dealt out to India. Irrigation might even be all that was claimed for it, but the British Government were in this position—we have got the railways. Sir Arthur says that, instead of spending the millions in railways, we should have spent them in canals. What might have happened in the latter case is an uncertainty; if the canals were made, they might or might not pay. But in the railways you have the logic of a *fait accompli*. And what you see—what anybody acquainted at all with India, with commerce, or trade sees—what, indeed, every man of common sense sees—is that these railroads have been of immense value. The Government contribution is now reduced to half a million a year, and will soon be uncalled for; and if one looked at the great and rapid increase of railway business, it was not too much to expect the lines to begin soon to repay the Government the advances made in the past. (Hear, hear.) If Sir Arthur Cotton would open his mind to the great value of railways at the same time as he urged the great importance of canals, his views would undoubtedly commend themselves more cogently to many people acquainted with India and the points at issue; and the aim for which he had so laboriously and conscientiously worked for many years would be more speedily advanced. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) said that he rose to express the extreme gratification he felt at this last triumphal appearance of Sir Arthur Cotton on the stage in a part which he had so persistently played for so many years—(hear, hear)—and at last with a prospect of complete success. He would wish, however, before entering on the general question, to refer briefly to the remarks of the preceding speaker, Mr. Maitland, who appeared to have looked at the question dealt with by Sir Arthur Cotton as one between railways and canals. That was a fallacy. The question was irrigation *per se*, and not Water *v.* Iron—Neptune *v.* Vulcan. (Hear, hear.) That was a grand celestial battle, with which he would have nothing to do. It was perhaps a pity that Sir Arthur Cotton had inveighed against railways, as in so doing he arrayed against himself a formidable body of opponents.

But the remark quoted by the preceding speaker as from Lord Northbrook, to the effect that without railways we could not have effectually dealt with the famine, was no logical argument against canals. Before railways, grain was carried in carts drawn by half-starved bullocks; but the fact that grain was now carried by railways did not prove that they are better than canals. What the lecturer contended was that, if the same amount of money had been spent on canals as had been spent on railways, it would have been better for India, and there would have been no famine to fight against; and that, as a means of communication, they would be cheaper, more efficacious, and more profitable to everybody. These remarks he made merely in passing; he would now only add, that Sir Arthur Cotton had waged a wonderful battle for many years, during which he might say, without, he hoped, self-sufficiency, that he (the speaker) bad in every conceivable way, as an individual, aided and supported him in pamphlets, speeches, and newspapers, under the deepest conviction of the truth and reality of the principle advocated. And now it was highly gratifying to find that Mr. Thornton, coming from the India Office, where so much opposition had in past years been experienced, had become a most efficient co-operator and well-wisher. When first the question of irrigation was mooted, there was an organized antagonism from the regions of red-tape. Officials laughed at Sir Arthur Cotton, and talked of him as a wild enthusiast. Against this treatment he (Mr. Tayler) had protested, and had also written many articles in the *Pioneer* at the time—viz., in 1865; and although he could not flatter himself that they had any effect, it was a satisfaction to him to recur to them now that irrigation seemed certain of receiving the attention due to it. When he came back to England, he found that Sir A. Cotton was still treated there as a visionary; that he was called romantic and enthusiastic, and told that he had got water in his head. He (the speaker) then ventured to assert, at all the meetings of the East India Association and elsewhere, that visionaries did not come forward armed with facts and statistics such as were adduced by Sir Arthur Cotton, who met the charges brought against him by simply saying, "There are the facts." But the opposition would not regard the figures nor the facts, or the position they had taken up would have melted into thin air. Now, however, the "whirligig of time" had brought in "its revenges," and irrigation was the great question of the day; for almost all sensible men admitted it now that terrible facts were staring them in the face. The circumstances were simple enough. The food of India depends on the crop; the crop depends upon the water. God has given water, which for four months is rolling down in volumes to the sea, calling out, as it were, to us to stop it and use it. The Almighty had given us the money, the

skill, and the enterprise to utilize it. Why did we not call them into play? We had not done so because of opposition, partly official, partly sentimental. But now he hoped that all this was at an end, and that Sir Arthur Cotton would have a triumphant career, in the course of which his schemes would be carried out with the co-operation of all classes, to the great and lasting benefit of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. P. LE MESURIER next rose, and said that he did not propose to take up the question of Railways *versus* Canals, but he desired to say that he had the profoundest respect for the able manner in which the subject of irrigation had been dealt with by Sir Arthur Cotton. He could especially support him in regard to tank irrigation. On the preceding evening he was present at another meeting connected with Indian subjects, and the audience were then told by Professor Monier Williams that the absolute ignorance of India that characterized English people generally was perfectly astounding; and it was this fact that convinced him (the speaker) that it would be as well to try to get a crop of wheat out of a quartz rock as to try to secure appreciation for the facts and figures which Sir Arthur Cotton adduced, for the reason that people were unacquainted with the geology, geography, and physical characteristics of India. If they could have seen, as no doubt many gentlemen present had seen, the wonderful tanks in the Madras country in the Nizam's dominions, and indeed in Bundelkund, they would be perfectly astounded. He had never counted the tanks—said to number 40,000—but he had seen over miles and miles of country magnificent works; and what struck him in connection with them was that it required very little to put them in order and render them efficient. If the number of civil engineers and professional men at home in England, and at their wits' end for occupation, could see these works, he knew how readily they would see their value, if restored; and they would make no difficulty about going out to India, and taking up the task. Some years ago the face of a collector would have been aghast at the idea of a civil engineer walking into his office and asking questions concerning these tanks; but that would not be the case now. His own opinions, he would not conceal, were very strong upon this point, for, as a civil engineer, he knew that much could easily be done in providing water by merely restoring the native tanks, and this, too, at a comparatively small cost. So far as the general subject of irrigation was concerned, he fully concurred with much that Sir Arthur Cotton had said, but he wished it to be understood that he did not intend his remarks as to tank irrigation to apply to the large alluvial plains of India, such as the Dooab.

Mr. GEORGE FOGGO said he was glad he had waited until his

friend, Mr. Le Mesurier, had spoken, for he had pretty clearly demonstrated to the meeting that, in the present state of knowledge in England of Indian questions, and looking to the amount of general interest taken in them, even under the most favourable circumstances, the decision of this question of irrigation would in the end rest with the Indian Government, with the Indian Council, and with the Secretary of State for India. That being so, he had been thinking if a practical turn could not be given to the meeting, the great point being to get this paper of Sir Arthur Cotton's *answered*, officially answered, if possible. The East India Association professed to regard with great interest the welfare of the 250,000,000 of their fellow-subjects in India, and England had contributed most liberally to the aid of the sufferers in the recent famine: well, how better could this Association evince their interest than by impressing upon the authorities the importance of giving due consideration to Sir Arthur Cotton's views? It would not do for Secretaries of State to speak of a gentleman of his distinction in the slighting way that had been done—that he was "an enthusiast," and "that water would not run up-hill." He would propose that a deputation of the Association, supported by as many leading members of Parliament as they could get together, should wait on Lord Salisbury; and if the idea was agreeable to the meeting—(hear, hear)—he would move such a resolution as the following: "That this Association do "take into its early and serious consideration the lecture of Sir "Arthur Cotton, now read, with the view of forming a deputation to "the Secretary of State for India in Council, bespeaking his earnest "and full consideration of the question of irrigation and canals as "applicable in an extended scale to India, and as recommended by Sir "Arthur Cotton."

Mr. JOHN JONES seconded the motion, since it gave him an opportunity of referring to one of the last works projected by Sir Arthur Cotton—the Madras Irrigation Canal from Kurnool to Cuddapah. During the late famine, while outside the territory watered by the canal, the farmers or ryots were starving, and the soil barren; within the influence of the canal, those who had applied for the water and used it had abundant crops, and were realizing as much as 25*l.* per acre, and this over an extent of 90,000 acres. The engineer of the company has written home that, as the result of his calculation, he could say that in one year's crop the whole cost of the canal had been realized to the country. This was sufficient testimony to the value of Sir Arthur Cotton's projects. Referring to the speech delivered recently at Manchester by Mr. Bright, the speaker especially com-

mented upon the allusion to bankruptcy in relation to India, and sarcastically observed that no doubt at Manchester there was a sense of bankruptcy, because people in India were manufacturing cotton so cheap that Manchester could not compete, and could not get rid of her manufactures in India. He supposed that was what Mr. Bright meant when he spoke of bankruptcy. Only recently he (Mr. Jones) was speaking to a workman, who was telling him that where formerly there were eight mills, there were now thirty-seven mills at work, and that all the heavy goods could now be manufactured in India cheaper than they could be got in England. That, of course, settled the business for Manchester, and made the outlook very gloomy indeed. (Laughter.)

General ALEXANDER remarked that he had long since had the privilege of learning Sir Arthur Cotton's views on the subject of irrigation in India, and he believed he was perfectly right in stating that from the beginning he had always maintained that cheap railways should be constructed, but that the great necessity of India was irrigation. It was a mistake to suppose that he had opposed railway-making. His great object had been to keep that in its proper place, while contending that the great want of India was water. Looking at home in England, before railways were constructed, we had canals, and to this day they were most valuable properties, notwithstanding the introduction and growth of the railway system. The same thing would happen in India, and both canals and railways would be fully occupied, since the trade of the country would increase with the facilities. He desired to mention this, because he felt that, in justice to Sir Arthur Cotton, it should be understood that he was not in antagonism with railways, but that he placed the system of irrigation and canals in the chief place of urgency, and the production of food, if not before, at any rate *pari passu* with the means of carrying it. Sir Arthur, as a soldier, knew the value of railways at the time of the Indian Mutiny. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. D. H. SMALL gave an instance of an improvement that had been carried out in Mairwara and Ajmeer, the capital of Rajpootana, by Colonel Dixon, by the formation of tanks, with the result of an increased revenue and a flourishing and contented people. So grateful, indeed, were the people for what had been done for them, that at the time of the Mutiny the regiment (Mairwara Local Battalion) of the district of which he was speaking was the only one that stood firm, and, in his opinion, was the means of saving Rajpootana from joining in the Mutiny. (Hear, hear.) He mentioned this circumstance because it

proved to him that the carrying out of the schemes advocated by the lecturer and Mr. Tayler would be beneficial in more than one respect. He had nothing to say against the railways, but he thought too much money had been spent on them, and too little on canals; and as to the observation of Lord Salisbury, that water could not be made to "run up-hill," he would not dispute it, but we have just been told by Sir Arthur that nine-tenths of the Peninsula could be watered, and he was prepared to prove the accuracy of the assertion. Beyond that, he asked, seeing that nearly all the rivers flow from the Himalaya mountains, what was there to prevent the water being scattered all over India, by aqueducts and other means? There then would be no necessity for water to go "up-hill." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, J.P., expressed his gratification at the admirable paper which had been placed before the audience, and said that it appeared to him that there was no necessary antagonism between the system of railways and that of canals and irrigation. From the statistics which Sir Arthur Cotton had brought forward, he thought that if so large a sum as 160,000,000*l.* had been spent on railways, there ought not, in reason, to be any difficulty in the way of finding twenty or thirty millions of money to carry out a work of such manifest essential importance as the irrigation of the whole of India. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Le Mesurier had made a statement which he (the speaker) could corroborate—viz., as to the intense ignorance of the people of this country in relation to India. It was lamentable to observe the general ignorance and indifference which prevailed with regard to this vast portion of our Empire. Lately public opinion and public sympathy had been attracted to it by the occurrence of a severe famine, and money was subscribed readily for the purpose of alleviating the distress caused by it; but there the matter stopped. The lessons taught by such famines should be sufficient to lead up to the consideration whether, by the investment of the necessary amount of national capital in a comprehensive scheme of irrigation, such disasters as famine could not be altogether averted. He believed that the result would more than compensate for the outlay; and even if but a trifling money per-cent-age of profit was obtained, there would be the satisfaction of knowing that an enormous number of human beings had been saved by its means from the pangs of starvation; and in fulfilling the claims of humanity, the wealth of the country would be increased at the same time. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WILLIAM BOWDEN said he had lived in that part of India where Sir Arthur Cotton's scheme of irrigation had been carried out,

He alluded to the canals in the Godaverry and the Kistna districts, furnishing 2,000 miles with the means of irrigation, and 700 miles of navigable canals, through which boats of twenty to thirty tons burthen could pass. These canals cost not more than 1,500,000*l.*, and they had been the means of insuring the prosperity of the two districts by increasing the business and trade of the country to such an extent that where it was at one time estimated at 7,000*l.*, it was at this moment over 1,000,000*l.* sterling. The districts to which he alluded, though situate in the midst of the famine districts, had so far escaped, that although many had lived on one meal a day, owing to the high price of food, there had not been a single case of starvation; and only the previous day he met a gentleman who informed him that 150,000 bags of grain had been shipped during the present famine from the port with which these districts were in communication by means of the canals. He thought that the fact that not a single death had occurred in the districts supplied with canals was the greatest tribute that could be paid to the originator of the scheme of irrigation. (Hear, hear.) He spoke as an agriculturist, for although comparatively a young man, he, as a boy, knew the district before a single sod was turned of the canals. In 1847 he remembered travelling through the district, which was then so devoid of water that he had to use his handkerchief to act as a filter over a muddy pool in order to quench his thirst. Now there was a navigable canal in the same place, teeming with boats night and day; and where formerly the ground was arid, here and there salt marshes, it is now entirely under cultivation. In order that people should properly estimate irrigation, they should see what a marvellous change it had effected in the Godaverry and Kistna districts. Irrigation and navigation was, in his opinion, one of the chief of the means for improving the condition of India, as it provided a cheap means of transport, and gave a stimulus in every way to agriculture and trade.

Mr. J. T. WOOD said that he had been connected with the Eastern Bengal Railway, and his experience had shown him that the greatest good resulted from the railways and water communications working together. The success which had attended the Eastern Bengal Railway was due to the fact that, in connection with the railway, the company owned boats, representing a tonnage of 4,000 tons, in continuous motion for some months in the year, feeding the railway. What was wanted in canals was to supplement the railways, and what was wanted in irrigation was to increase food for the whole of the country. The East India and Great Indian Peninsula Railways had carried large quantities

of food-grains and seeds; the former railway at the rate of ten-twentieths of 1d., the latter at the rate of eleven-twentieths of 1d. per ton per mile. The low cost of freight by steamers to Suez—viz., at the rate of from one-tenth to one-twentieth of 1d. per ton per mile—enabled Calcutta to compete with Bombay; but the toll of the artificial canal from Suez amounted approximately to 1d. per ton per mile, and if the difficulty of obtaining outward freight be taken into calculation, the toll would be nearer 1½d. per ton per mile. He suggested that if the Association sent the deputation to the India Office, it might be better to confine their attention to the subject of irrigation, and to omit all allusions to the railways.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said that the important question which had now been raised could not rest where it was. It would have to be discussed in the House of Commons, and for that occasion he would reserve himself. He rose principally to thank Mr. Bowden for the statement he had made as to the results in the Godaverry district which Sir Arthur Cotton had the satisfaction of achieving. (Hear, hear.) Any one who remembered the district would be surprised at the change which had taken place. Where before it was impossible for a regiment on the march to obtain water, it was now possible to travel with the greatest of comfort, as he could vouch from personal experience. It was twenty-five years ago since he visited this district, but his acquaintance with the great work begun and carried out by Sir Arthur Cotton began seven years previously, when he was on the Commission of Inquiry into Public Works in India. Two years did he and his colleagues toil in drawing up their report in favour of Sir Arthur Cotton's wise and far-seeing views, and for telling the truth in regard to this question of insufficient irrigation in the Madras Presidency, they were insulted, disgraced, and punished. Those days had passed, however; and, happily, he had obtained a position from which he could look back on those evil days with comparative indifference. But it was a source of gratification that what the Commission had toiled for and advocated so many years ago was now likely to come about. But, unhappily, success had not become visible until millions of people had been afflicted with the dire horrors of famine and drought, and large numbers of them swept out of existence by the pangs of starvation. For more than fifty years Sir Arthur Cotton had zealously laboured in this noble work of advocating the extension of irrigation and of water transport in India; and if works similar to those he secured in the Godaverry and Kistna districts had been carried out elsewhere, a great portion of the famine of the last few months would have been prevented. There was still,

however, great danger of the necessary works being deferred, for the present Secretary of State for India, and the Under-Secretary, had lately made statements which, if true, would take away the right to urge the extension of irrigation works. He fully concurred, notwithstanding this avowal of opposition to those works, in the suggestion that the East India Association should wait upon the Secretary of State by deputation, because he was assured that Lord Salisbury could not maintain the opinions he had expressed, as he was convinced they were thoroughly unsound and at variance with the true facts. Mr. Le Mesurier had referred to the multitude of tanks everywhere visible in the Madras Presidency, and he fully corroborated the opinion as to their value, and that the utility of irrigation works was thoroughly appreciated; but these tanks were found empty, because the Government would not allow the water to be put into them. (Shame.) There were obstacles to the extension of irrigation which yet had to be overcome, and if only a proper and fair inquiry were made, these tanks would be utilized to supply the needs of the people when the heavens failed to give the necessary rain. He felt sure that many who knew the circumstances would agree with him that the waters of the Toongabudra, overflowing its banks and rolling down to the sea without being made use of, could and should be utilized for the advantage of the country, and for the prevention of the dreadful calamities with which the district bordering on that great river was occasionally afflicted. There was in that river an abundance of water for irrigating millions of acres of the Madras Presidency, all of which at present was irretrievably lost and wasted, because the requisite works were not constructed; but he hoped and believed that the attention being given to the subject by the people of England would have the effect of inducing a change in the attitude of the Indian Government, which could not fail to be of enormous benefit to the millions of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. H. W. DUNLOP (late Bengal Civil Service) said it must surely have struck some of his audience that whereas most questions have two sides, this Indian canal irrigation appeared, so far as the lecture and all subsequent speeches on it went, to have only one. Unless there was an aspect of it as yet untouched, it was extraordinary that statesmen like Lord Salisbury and Lord George Hamilton should hesitate to adopt the views and further the plans of canal enthusiasts. He begged to apologize beforehand for enunciating opinions opposed to the sympathies of apparently nearly every one in the room, but it was his duty to state clearly what he had seen and known, and to declare that throughout certain wide tracts in India canal irrigation would

prove, and had proved, rather a curse than a blessing. He would premise that he had only admiration for such work as Sir Arthur Cotton's, in the regions of the Godavery, Kistna, and Nerbudda, or districts of similar physical character, where unlimited natural drainage existed—only admiration for the late Colonel Meadows Taylor's work in husbanding water by "bundhing" valleys, or restoring ancient reservoirs,—there was ample work of that kind to occupy all our energies; but in the extended alluvial plains where he had experience, the volume of water brought down by such canals as those of the Jumna and Ganges saturated the subsoil, raised the level of water in wells in some places to a danger point, rendering large tracts pestiferous—indirectly, perhaps, increasing population, but destroying the health and physique of the people, and ultimately injuring the land by salt efflorescence. He illustrated his opinions by reference to facts in the districts of the Dhoon, of Rohtuck, of Meerut, and their neighbourhoods. As to the relative value of railroads and canals, he considered it bad policy of the lecturer to disparage the former while he vaunted the latter: they were each in their proper places mighty sister aids for developing the resources of the country, and the relative cost of carriage by each was not a fair gauge of their respective values, time being all-important in certain emergencies, especially military ones. This he illustrated by an episode in the march of Colonel Neil and the Madras Fusiliers to the aid of those who were fighting for their lives and for British supremacy in the North-west during the great Mutiny.

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE was convinced that an extension of the canal system would be of the greatest benefit to India. Alluding to the remarks of the last speaker, he said that, of course, it should be understood that nobody wanted to make canals to irrigate marshes. That would be a ridiculous excess; but irrigation, properly carried out, was an absolute necessity. As to the other question of canals as compared with railways, he had to confess, with all deference to Sir Arthur Cotton, that he did not see how canals could ever supersede railways; and he thought that the experience of England and Europe generally was in favour of railways, for most countries had canals first and railways afterwards, as affording speedier transit. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. RUSTOMJEE VICCAJEE said: The discussion on the paper written by Sir Arthur Cotton on "The Prevention and Counter-action of Indian Famines" had been very interesting, and it threw a good deal of light on the advisability or otherwise of making canals and reservoirs throughout India, on an extensive scale, for irrigation

purposes. From his experience in the dominions of his Highness the Nizam, he could safely say that there are districts throughout India where an extensive irrigation by means of canals and tanks would make the locality unhealthy; such as Telungan, on the south-east of Hyderabad territory, a spot which is noted for its irrigation works, by means of tanks and reservoirs, especially for rice cultivation. The Natives of other parts would hardly venture to reside there unless compelled to do so. However, it is just to say that, though the inhabitants of Telungan are to all appearances emaciated, still they are inured to the climate, and appear to be able to undergo a good deal of fatigue. Again, there are parts of the south-west portion of the dominions where canals and tanks have existed from ancient times, fed from the rivers Toongabudra and Kistna; but these works are not very extensive, and the parts around them are not so unhealthy as Telungan. It should be borne in mind that reserved water can only be used for some of the "khureef," or first crops, sown about the month of June, consisting chiefly of rice and sugar-cane, the fields of which are kept constantly inundated with water, where manure is allowed to rot in order to bring up a good crop. But for the "rubbee," or second crops, consisting of wheat, &c., which are generally sown in black and mixed soil, the use of reserved water would be a venture, and liable to risks of failure of the crops. For instance, in the event of the scarcity of the first fall of rain for this sowing, if the canal and tank water be given to this crop, any sudden and severe fall of rain, such as has now occurred in several of the famine districts in Madras and Bombay, would be sure to ruin the crops. Therefore, the ryots would naturally hesitate to make use of the canal water in this case. No doubt human ingenuity might and ought to devise means where it is possible to reserve water with a view to alleviate human suffering, but we should be careful to do so only where it can produce good fruits, and not create a fresh grievance or some other calamity. At all events, there are, without doubt, some parts where irrigation works can be safely carried on to a moderate extent, with due regard to sanitary arrangements; but then the question is, Where is the money to come from? For Government to undertake the construction of extensive waterworks, they must either borrow money or impose fresh taxes. To do the former might be thought involving India in difficulties. But when the urgency is so great and the prospects are so promising, let us see whether from the revenues of India it cannot be done. The present resources of Government are barely enough for present requirements. Under these circumstances, he might venture to make the following suggestions: To fall back upon income-tax would not be advisable, for it is considered an

inquisitive mode of taxation, and the people would not be reconciled to it. Some time ago the tax upon marriages was suggested. This existed before the British rule, and even after it. It is a tax the people of India are likely to submit to. Thus a poor man who is prepared to spend ten rupees on the marriage of his child, would surely not grumble to pay four or ten annas for the marriage licence. But there are serious objections to this taxation. A civilized Government would be sanctioning the disposal of poor infants without their mature knowledge for the dear ties of their life. Not only this, but for the majority of the Mahomedan subjects especially, Government would be sanctioning polygamy. To deny the licence to Mahomedans would be impolitic. Education is taking great strides among them latterly, and it is probable that in time to come they will take their proper place in the requirements of the progress of India in this matter. But that time seems as yet distant. In his opinion the revival of the "Mohturpha" tax would not be unadvisable. It was a mistake to abolish this tax. No doubt it operated cruelly on some poor people, and inadequately upon others, but that was not the fault of the tax itself—it was the fault of the system or principle by which the tax was raised and collected. It was levied upon trade as well as upon those who did not contribute to the land revenue, and in some places it even reached the actual cultivators by the name of house tax. The extent of its imposition was of necessity left to the discretion of the lowest subordinate Revenue officer—viz., the Tehsildar of a district, who fixed the amount for every year. This was done during the "Laonee," or preliminary settlement made by him. During Jumabundy it was then either sanctioned, or altered, or entirely remitted by the Jumabundy officers, such as collectors, deputy-commissioners, and their assistants. This mode of taxation had no fixed principle, and consequently no sufficient check for the protection of the helpless poor. Hence a clamour was raised against it, and he believed that was the principal cause why it ended in its abolition. But "Mohturpha" is a tax, if imposed under certain rules and regulations, that would not only bring a large revenue, but it is presumed that the people, in all probability, would not object to it. If any class of the people of India needed relief or remission from the burden of taxation, they were the poor cultivating class, whose holdings are small, and who live from hand to mouth—a condition the present famine has only too plainly brought to light; but certainly the abolition of Mohturpha was not necessary for the trading and money-making class. If this tax is revived, and its proceeds be exclusively applied to the construction of irrigation works and navigation canals, the Government would be gradually making its way towards that object which the worthy lecturer and all desired.

Mr. K. M. DUTT protested against the statement that irrigation works made a district unhealthy or affected the stamina of its inhabitants, for to his knowledge places which formerly were marshy and noted for the presence of fever became healthy in consequence of the drainage of irrigation works. The importance of irrigation was no new thing; it was well understood ages before the Christian era, for in the Sanskrit books reference is made to the Kings of Delhi being asked if the tanks in their kingdom were properly maintained and full of water, so that their subjects should not be dependent on the rains. (Hear, hear.)

Several gentlemen essayed to speak, but at this point the CHAIRMAN intimated that Sir Arthur Cotton was desirous of leaving the meeting, and the discussion having been considerably prolonged, might now conveniently close.

General Sir ARTHUR COTTON then expressed his regret that he had not time left to deal fully with the objections which had been raised by various speakers, because he might be met by the query why he had not met this or that argument or opinion against his views. As regards the objection of one speaker, that he spoke too much on canals, he was reminded of the story of the spendthrift son who proposed to keep a carriage on 300*l.* a year. When his father remonstrated with him he said: "Say what you like, but do not mention the carriage." As to comparing railways with canals, he simply asked whether it was right to spend 10,000*l.* a mile upon railways in India when canals could be cut for 3,000*l.*, and be infinitely more useful and more fitted to the necessities of the country? Alluding to the objection of one speaker, that irrigation schemes caused malarious sickness, he said that forty-five years ago he was constantly up to his knees in mud in the paddy fields, and he never had a single attack of fever, nor heard of any one having it. Reverting to the remarks of Mr. Maitland, he reiterated his conviction that it was the enormous expenditure on railways that was ruining India; and yet with all the facts he had again and again given in support of his opinion, he was told by a merchant that there were no advantages of canals over railways. It was difficult to listen to such a statement with patience when he knew that grain, which could be exported from India in great quantities, was allowed to remain there in waste because the cost of transit to the coast would be too great to permit the trade to be carried on with any chance of success.

Mr. Foggo's motion was agreed to, and a vote of thanks was then cordially passed to the lecturer and the Chairman; and this terminated the proceedings.

Memorandum by General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I.

At our late discussion on the Famine, I was not allowed a sufficient time to answer the objections which were made to my paper. I beg, therefore, to be allowed to add a few words in answer to one or two remarks that were made by speakers at our meeting. One gentleman quoted Lord Northbrook, who said : " Now he did not think any one who had any knowledge of India could doubt that it (the railways) was one of the most profitable investments that ever was made by a great nation." My answer to this is: What can be the use of making such a remark as this, when the Railway Blue book shows that they are not returning simple interest, and have a debt of some 50,000,000*l.* on them at this moment, without the smallest probability of its being paid off in this century? And what is the use of a man's talking as if he had never heard of irrigation works that were yielding 40 per cent., according to an India Office authority? And what can be the use of another man quoting such an assertion when he himself knows that it is in the face of perfectly well-known facts? So much for their unparalleled profitability; and in respect of their efficiency, take the following extract from the Calcutta Government *Gazette* of November 28: " The trade in rice throughout the (Burdwan) division has been enormous, owing to the high prices ruling in Calcutta. The canals carried from Midnapoor 75,000 tons of rice against 20,000 in the year preceding, and that notwithstanding that the high-level canal was twice closed to traffic owing to accident. The railway failed entirely to take off the supplies brought into the stations along the line, and great quantities had to be carted down the Grand Trunk road." This is the great evil of the railways, not that they are exactly the opposite of what Lord Northbrook said they were, but that they not only cannot carry at a price that meets the wants of India, but that if they could they would be totally incapable of carrying the quantity required, scarcely a tenth part of it.

In Mr. Maitland's reply not a word is said of the fact brought forward by me, of a railway engineer insisting upon the necessity of cutting a canal on the very line on which he had just constructed a railway, showing that nine-tenths of the traffic went by water still, just the same as if no railway existed, and that if such a canal were made it would pay nett 11 per cent. on a cost of 2,000,000*l.*, and at the same time save 870,000*l.* a year on the present Eastern traffic alone, about 1,500,000*l.* on the Eastern and Western traffic together, besides the enormous new traffic that would be created by such an effective reduc-

tion in the cost of carriage. Why did Mr. Maitland give no answer to this? Simply because it could not be answered, and it put in the strongest possible light the whole question between railways and canals.

The Eastern Bengal Railway carried last year 220,000 tons over its whole length. If there were cheap transit up the whole line of the valley of the Ganges, the traffic on this line would be at least doubled, or 6,000,000 tons would pass over it. What could the railway make of this even if it could carry at the low rate required? The mere idea of carrying the great traffic of India by these rails, shows that the projectors of them had not one real idea on the subject of transport. All this was plainly shown when railways were first proposed; but neither Lord Dalhousie nor any of his followers could or would answer them; and now, after at least 20,000,000*l.* have been lost on a single line of only 180 miles, besides 4,000,000*l.* spent on the railway, we have a railway engineer honestly coming forward and insisting upon the absolute necessity of a canal on that very line. It is quite impossible that a clearer case could be made out, and of course the only possible resource is for men to argue as if they had never heard of the case. Mr. Maitland adds: "If Sir Arthur would open his mind to the great value of "railways at the same time that he urges the real importance of canals, "his views would undoubtedly commend themselves more cogently to "many people acquainted with India and the points at issue, and the aim "for which he had so laboriously and conscientiously worked for many "years would be more speedily advanced." That is, that if I would either be a party to what I know is false, or would help to conceal the truth as to the very essential and fundamental point of the whole matter, it would be the way to promote the truth.

Mr. Maitland has to show that a railway can carry cheaper than a canal, and that a railway can carry millions of tons a year, and that a steamboat canal cannot. Not one word does he say on either of these points. How could he, in the face of the undeniable facts brought forward by a railway engineer? It has been a long fight, but now not a day passes without some new proof that though the old men committed to this unhappy mistake are hopelessly determined to go on in this direction, whatever it costs India or England, yet that there are those who honestly look these plain facts in the face, and are convinced by them that a terrible mistake has been committed, and that the least we can do now is to give India those means of secure supplies of food, and of such cheap and abundant transit, as are essential to the prevention of these most terrible calamities, and who dare not refuse to their fellow-men the only means which they know will meet the case. I must be satisfied with meeting this great fundamental objection.

Delegates for India.

A PUBLIC MEETING was convened, at the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, by the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, at which Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN, Bart., formerly M.P. for the County of Ayr, one of the Vice-Presidents, gave an address.

Sir MUNGULDAS NATHOOBHOY, Knt., C.S.I., presided; and amongst those present were, the Hon. Rao Saheb Wiswanath Narayen Mundlick, Dr. H. Cook, Messrs. C. E. Chapman, W. Wordsworth, T. B. Kirkham, W. M. Wood, Grattan Geary, A. F. Moos, Nana Morojee, Nowrojee Furdoonjee, Raghunath N. Khote, Kassinath F. Telang, Atmaram Pandurang, Khunderao Chimunrao Bedarkur, Vishnu Ganasham, Muncherjee M. Bhownuggree, Gunpatrao Moroba Pitale, Nanabhai R. Ranina, Javerilal Umiashanker, and others.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said : Gentlemen,— I have much pleasure in introducing to you Sir D. Wedderburn, Bart., member of the late Parliament, and of the Indian Finance Committee, now on a visit to his birth-place, Bombay. As a sincere friend and well-wisher of the Natives of India, he takes a lively interest in matters affecting the welfare and prosperity of our countrymen. He has recently been travelling through this country, with the view of making himself better acquainted with the condition and requirements of the place. The knowledge and experience he has acquired will, we sincerely trust, enable him to advocate the cause of our country, with much effect, both in and out of Parliament. I rejoice to learn that, on a suitable vacancy occurring in Parliament, he proposes to endeavour to secure a seat. We need scarcely say that we wish him every success. We shall be delighted to see him again in the Imperial Assembly, to watch over and protect our interests. As a Vice-President of the Parent Association, and one of our best friends, it is our bounden duty to give him a cordial welcome to our shores, and to wish him a safe and prosperous return to England, in company with his brother, my esteemed friend, Mr. W. Wedderburn, of the Bombay Civil Service, whom you know as a sincere well-wisher of this country. With these brief remarks, I request Sir D. Wedderburn to favour this meeting with the address he has kindly consented to deliver this evening.

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN then said : Sir Munguldas and

Gentlemen,—You have heard from your worthy Chairman that I have been asked to deliver an address to you, the Bombay Branch of the East India Association. I had the greatest possible pleasure in complying with that very gratifying request. Your Chairman has told you that I am myself a native citizen of Bombay, and that I have also been for some years a Vice-President of what I suppose is called the Parent Society in London. I feel, therefore, that it might not be altogether out of place if I should have an opportunity, during my visit of pleasure here, of saying a few words to you. When, however, I came to select a subject, I did not find it quite so easy to decide what I ought to do. Having been in India for some little time, I have of course formed some opinion as to the requirements of the country, and when I go home I may perhaps be able to address an audience who know less on the subject than I do; but here I take it that I cannot instruct you on such a subject, who know more about it than I do, and I shall certainly not attempt to do so. There is, however, one subject connected with India on which I have had some special means of acquiring information, and that is the representation in the British Parliament of the people of India. (Cheers.) I therefore think that I shall do well to select such a topic as that, and I shall style the subject of my discourse "Delegates for India." I use the word "delegate" for a special reason, which I shall presently explain. Now I think that you are well aware of the fact that in England, not only Parliament, but the Government, is swayed by the force of public opinion. The effect of this powerful public opinion is a blessing or a curse according as that opinion is well or ill-founded; and it is because I foresee that gradually the public opinion of England, as exercised partly through the Secretary of State and partly through the public press, will have more and more effect on India, that I lay so much stress upon having direct representatives to state what you really want, and what your requirements are. You have heard, I dare say, the name often given to the Press of England. It is called the Fourth Estate of the Realm, the House of Commons being the Third Estate of the Realm. Now the want is very greatly felt in England of some leading and trustworthy journal to express, not the opinions of Englishmen, but the opinions of Indians. Whether it is feasible to organize any such journal, it is impossible for me to say. I am not connected with the Press in any way. But there is a way of obtaining a hearing, and that is in the debates in the House of Commons, through means of which public attention is called to what takes place in India as well as elsewhere. You are well aware how the British Empire is governed. It is by means of representatives and by means of parties. There are two great parties in the State, and according as

the one or the other is able to command a majority in the House of Commons or in the country, they rule the State. Now, I am prepared to assert that so far as India is concerned, there is very little party feeling. Both sides are ready and willing to do the best they can. I do not claim any monopoly in this respect for the Liberal party, of which I am a member. I believe, for example, that if the people of England had known that it was the wish of the people of India that Her Majesty the Queen should take the title of Empress of India, there would have been no objection raised. But the Opposition in the House of Commons did not think that such was the case. They may have been right, or they may have been wrong,—you are all of you better judges of that than I can possibly be; but what was wanted at home was information on the subject. Again, in regard to the Committee for which Professor Fawcett has just asked, I believe that the Conservative Government would have granted that Committee at once. Had there been in Parliament members who could have spoken, not for themselves, but for the Natives of India, I do not doubt that the Government would have at once acceded to Professor Fawcett's motion. I mention these recent instances to illustrate my view that India has nothing to dread from the fact of the existence of two parties in the House of Commons. When Indian topics are before the House the great difficulty is in ascertaining what are the real facts of the case. There are always about a dozen gentlemen in the House who are supposed to know all about Indian affairs, but when Indian topics are discussed, they are very seldom agreed. Then, of course, we have official statements. There is no doubt the statements are honest, but then they have the official colouring, and are naturally regarded with suspicion by those of an opposite view. It is quite true that occasionally Brighton or Gravesend will send to the House of Commons men like Professor Fawcett and Sir Charles Wingfield, who are willing to devote their great abilities to Indian topics; but such an election as that of 1874 shows how uncertain is the tenure in Parliament of such men. If Professor Fawcett or Sir Charles Wingfield had sat in Parliament for Bombay, their seats would have been secure, but as it was, they suffered like others at the same election and lost their seats. Professor Fawcett, I am glad to say, got in elsewhere, but Sir Charles Wingfield did not; and I say that this shows how uncertain is the position of such men. Now I have told you that there is no party feeling in regard to Indian topics. But this cuts both ways. It has its disadvantages. The Government of the country being a party Government, it is found in practice that any individual or class whose case is not espoused by one party or other, finds great difficulty in making any progress. The

question of the condition of agricultural labourers is a case in point. The present condition of the agricultural labourer of England is a discredit to the country, and has long been so. (Cheers.) Then, again, there are questions affecting the interests of women. There are many points on which individual legislators have tried their best, but have not been able to do much. The reason of this is, they are unrepresented classes, and the members do not feel that the direct interests of their constituents are concerned. I have myself seen the House of Commons repeatedly counted out—we were not able to keep forty members together to vote on the Married Women's Property Bill; so little interest is shown in the wants of the unrepresented classes, that we cannot even keep a House for them. Now the apparent indifference—I call it apparent—which the House of Commons manifests for Indian affairs results partly from the fact that it is not a question in which constituencies feel themselves interested; and partly it is an acknowledgment of its own ignorance. It is therefore that I am desirous of seeing in the House of Commons some persons to represent Indian affairs. In the remarks I make to-day I shall confine myself to a simple proposal to have Indian affairs represented. To attempt to obtain for India anything like proportional representatives is entirely hopeless. The English people are very desirous to know about India, and they wish to govern it justly, but they are not prepared to resign that government, by admitting a large number of Native representatives. If we seek for precedents to guide us as to how we should act, we might turn first to our own colonies. But there we do not find anything analogous to the condition of India. All the important colonies are perfectly independent. They have Parliaments of their own, and they appoint their own officers, except the Governor, who is a purely honorary officer. They make their own laws, they do not interfere with the British Parliament, and it does not interfere with them. We cannot therefore draw any inference from their position. Well, then we may look to the practice of other nations. We find that in France seats are given in the Assembly to members from their colonies. I do not remember how many sit for India, but one certainly, if not more; and I am glad to see that the Assembly has voted a sum of money for famine relief in the French possessions. (Cheers.) Whether that results from the representative of India in the Assembly, I am not prepared to say, but there is the fact. In the United States, besides the thirty-seven States which compose the great Republic, there are large tracts of country known as territories, of which the population or importance is not sufficient to justify their admission to the Union. Congress makes laws for these territories; but although they send no

members to Congress, they are not unrepresented. They each send one representative, who is styled a delegate. He has the right to speak, but not to vote. This precedent appears to me to be a very practical one for us to copy. (Hear, hear.) A gentleman who, I believe, has spoken to you in this very hall, wrote a letter to this Association in which he says that the leaders of thought and opinion in India ought not to rest until they have secured two representatives from each Presidency. That is what Mr. Pritchard says. I think that, without loss of time, you ought to agitate to promote the admission into Parliament of at least six delegates. (Loud cheers.) It may be thought by some that not having the vote is a very serious matter. For my own part, I should prefer that the representatives had votes; but I am not speaking of what I myself wish, but what I believe can be attained. I am satisfied that the present condition of public opinion is not favourable to such a concession. We should be told that Ministries have fallen by very small majorities. A very powerful Ministry—that of Mr. Gladstone—fell by a minority of three. We shall be told, too, that important measures have become law by even less majorities than that, notably the great Reform Bill, which was passed by only one vote. So, these objectors will say, such things might be again; and we cannot agree that the Imperial laws shall be altered by persons not representing British constituencies, and who have no interests in the measures before the House. I say that this objection would find many supporters, and it is for that reason, and that only, that I would suggest representatives who should speak and not vote. There are people who say that if you want a little you ought to ask for a great deal. That is not my experience of parliamentary life. If you really have an object at heart, put it in such a form that it may contain what you absolutely require, nothing more so as to give an argument to your enemies, nothing less so as not to lose your friends. A time may come when there will be a confederation on equal terms of the whole Empire, a "Parliament of Man;" but that will not be in our time, and in the meantime while the grass grows the steed starves. (Hear, hear.) I want to see something done in my own day. (Cheers.) I do not think that to such a suggestion there would be any practical objection raised, except that it is new, that such a thing has never been heard of before in the British Parliament. I know that is a serious objection, which it will take some time to fight through; but it is not founded on any real justice, and as soon as the Government and the people arrive at a sense of justice on the matter, the thing could be done. Well, now, supposing you had access to Parliament, there is a certain number of gentlemen whom I now see before me, in Bombay, who are entitled to occupy such a position, and

I am quite sure they would be able clearly to set before the House of Commons the grievances and requirements of their country ; and I am sure they would be listened to with respect and courtesy, and an attentive ear lent to their arguments. I do not know, nor will it be advisable for me now to discuss, what would be the best method of electing such delegates. It is quite true, I believe, that the representative idea of government is not foreign to the minds of the people of India, but they have never had anything analogous to a British Parliament. They are now becoming familiar with representative institutions. However, this is a question on which I can only speak second-hand ; but I think there would be no practical difficulty, if Mr. Prichard's proposal were carried out, and if each Presidency had a representative. Even now the Natives of this country are eligible as members of the House of Commons, but they must be elected by some British constituency. I have heard it seriously said that the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh will be brought forward at some future election. I have heard it discussed as a reasonable proposal ; and the mere fact that it has been discussed is of itself sufficient guarantee of the truth of what I am saying. Then I might mention what may seem a funny thing to do, that such a course has the august sanction of Mr. *Punch*—(laughter)—and that is a great thing ; as, if the proposal were ridiculous, he would make fun of it, but when he speaks seriously in favour of anything, it is a good sign. Some years ago I ventured to suggest, "in my place," as it is called, that we should have representatives in Parliament from India ; and *Punch* in his "*Essence of Parliament*"—which is the best summary of parliamentary news I know, true and lively—says, "This is a premature proposal, but there is no doubt we shall see it some day." (Cheers.) I was much gratified at having that support. Now, on the question of votes, I would say that it is not by six votes nor sixty that you can get what you want. It is by persuading the House of Commons what your real wants are. The fact that sixty votes will not obtain it is shown by the position of the Home Rule Irish members. They are perfectly helpless in the House. But the Scotch members have, as a rule, confined themselves to the questions affecting their own country ; and the result is that in all matters affecting Scotland they are left to themselves, and have very much their own way. I mention this to show you that it is not necessary to have a majority. In fact, various questions occur when a great majority against is the prelude to success. I may mention one case. Almost the first time I voted in the House of Commons I voted in support of a motion by Professor Fawcett, that all civil appointments, which had hitherto been in the patronage of members, should be thrown open to

public competition. (Cheers.) It was a full House, and only thirty voted for it, and three hundred voted the other way. We were ridiculed, laughed at, and told we had made fools of ourselves. We were not disheartened. We knew that we had had the best in debate; and we did not doubt that the next time the House was called upon to decide the question it would show a different result. It was so; for next session the proposal was renewed, and it was carried without a division. (Cheers.) I have spoken about Professor Fawcett, I cannot pass on without alluding to Mr. Bright—(loud cheers)—one of the best men in the House of Commons. I was reading lately some of his old speeches, a volume of which I was very glad to see in the library downstairs. I have lately read these speeches. Several of them refer to Indian subjects, and I was glad to find that many of the reforms he advocated have been carried out. Some little time ago I spoke to Mr. Bright on the subject of India. It was after the election of 1874. I asked him whether he could not be induced once more to direct his attention to Indian subjects. His reply was, that his interest was still warm, but that increasing years and failing health prevented him from taking up any new subjects. I told him I was going to make a tour round the world, and he said, "You do quite right; if I were thirty years younger, I would go with you." If Mr. Bright had come, he would have been entitled to a good reception from you. (Cheers.) I have alluded to him because he is perhaps the only one of his class of British statesmen whose sympathies have not been limited by race, colour, or creed, and who, although unconnected with India, has always taken the warmest interest in its welfare. (Loud cheers.) I read a day or two ago some articles in a Native paper. They were in English; I do not know whether they were translations; but I am informed they were written by a Native gentleman. I read three of them, and though I am not prepared to say that I agree with every word of them—particularly I do not take the same view of the famine policy—yet with by far the greater part of what I read I most heartily concur. I am prepared to say that if I had anything to do with the Government of this country, I should be glad to welcome to my councils gentlemen who hold such views and who can express them so well. (Cheers.) I am quite sure that Government would strengthen its hands by doing so. Of course there are persons who, whatever they see in print or hear in public in the shape of criticism from a Native, are ready to call out, "Sedition," and to demand the suppression of the paper or speaker. I regard this as extremely foolish. I never yet heard of any conspiracy being hatched by public discussion; and the Government is strong enough here to listen to fair criticism. In the House of Commons there are always to

be found a few candid friends of the Government, as they are called. They are, as a rule, gentlemen who vote with the Ministers, and who consider that their merits have been overlooked when the distribution of offices has taken place. They are in the habit of telling the Government wholesome but unpalatable truths ; and truths, too, which are not made the more palatable by the statement that what they are saying is intended for the Government's good. I think, however, that, as a rule, the Government take the advice of their candid friends ; and these are, perhaps, better friends to the Government than if they were in office. I shall be very glad if the Natives I hope to see in Parliament will feel disposed to act the candid friend to Government. The principal thing is to obtain a hearing. You recollect the story of Themistocles, who was second in command, wishing to alter the tactics of his commander, who threatened to strike him for interfering. Themistocles said, "Strike me, but hear me." He was heard, and the result was the victory of Salamis. It is because I so very much lay stress upon your obtaining a hearing before the British public and the British Parliament that I have spoken on this subject. I believe the Government here are willing to listen to your grievances ; but if they will not listen to you, there is an appeal to a higher tribunal. It is the British people which makes the British Parliament. It is the strongest political force in the civilized world. (Loud cheers.) There can be little doubt that whenever the opinion of the British public is expressed, it echoes wherever the English language is spoken—indeed, over the whole world. Now, in conclusion, let me say that I want your efforts to be directed to something simple and practical. Demand a limited number of representatives or delegates, with the power of joining in the debates and of presenting petitions, but with no right to vote. I cannot say how many will be sufficient. I would begin by asking for six. If you get the thin edge of the wedge in, you may get more. Now it so happens that there are half-a-dozen vacancies at this moment, so that you would not be increasing the number of members of the House of Commons, which is too large and unwieldy already. I think the simple fact of there being six vacancies is much in your favour. The only important objection would be the novelty of the proposal, and that can be got over. The question has never been brought forward as a piece of legislation ; no Bill has been introduced on the subject. You have therefore got to familiarize the minds of Englishmen to it ; and when you have done so, the rest will not be a difficult task. It will have to be done, in the first place, by raising the question in Parliament, and perhaps there may be a difficulty in getting any one to take up the subject. If I were still in Parliament, I would take it up myself, failing

stronger and better hands. (Enthusiastic cheering.) It will [not be obtained at the first time of asking, nor at the second, nor probably at the third ; but if, as President Lincoln said, you go steadily pegging away, your efforts in the long run will be crowned with success. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. RAO SAHEB W. N. MUNDLIK, in proposing a vote of thanks to Sir David Wedderburn for the interesting address he had delivered—(cheers)—said that, coming from the authority it did, the whole subject needed but little in addition for any one to say. He (the speaker) had no doubt the whole subject would be well considered by all present, and would be taken up in the spirit in which it had been urged upon them. Speaking for himself, he would say that Mountstuart Elphinstone had placed them on the high road which Sir David Wedderburn wished them to travel, and the British Government did not now wish them to recede, nor would it redound to its credit if it did. (Cheers.)

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE seconded the resolution, which he had no doubt would be carried with acclamation. 'Loud cheers.) Nothing that he could say would add to the justice or propriety of the suggestion which had been made by the gentleman who had addressed them ; and he would only commend it to their consideration. It was a suggestion that had been made after careful consideration. Whilst he (the speaker) was in England, three years ago, the question was ventilated in influential quarters, and although there were objections urged against it, still members of Parliament and other friends of India to whom he had access were favourably inclined to its consideration. He therefore thought that a favourable and early opportunity should be taken to carry out the proposal. It was a proposal in which the best interests of India were concerned ; it was a proposal which, if carried out, would remove a great deal of the ignorance that prevailed in England in regard to Indian affairs. If they persevered with any important measure of reform, they might depend upon it they would succeed. No great reform was granted the first time it was mooted ; and they must, in justice to their cause, persevere, and not be deterred by any want of success at first. Although the number of delegates asked for might not be great, still a small number in Parliament, with the opportunity of mixing amongst their brother members and amongst the British public, would have as great an influence as if they were a phalanx ; and he agreed with the suggestion which had been made, in all its details, as it has been so ably and forcibly put before the meeting.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD said that before the resolution was put

he should like to say a few words. He cordially agreed with the resolution which had been proposed. The subject which had called them together was one which always created a deal of enthusiasm and interest. The subject had been brought forward at different times. There was the late Mr. Prichard, who had been already alluded to, and last year they had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Eastwick's scholarly and able address. Sir David Wedderburn seemed to have handled the subject in a practical manner. He had alluded to the constitutional objections that would be raised to the proposed alteration, and there was also a financial side of the question. Now the proposal of delegates to speak but not to vote put the constitutional difficulty away; and in regard to the other, he (Mr. Wood) thought that the question of the parliamentary representation of India was almost subordinate to the one of giving the Natives a greater share and participation in the administration of the affairs of the country. (Hear, hear.) This with some was a sore question, a burning question. As regarded the financial question, he would suggest to practical men, like Sir David Wedderburn, one way of securing the interests of the constituencies in the government of India, and that was that England should bear a certain portion of the burden of the expenses of governing India. Every member of Parliament, when called upon to vote supplies, would then know that he was responsible for the economical administration of Indian affairs.

The resolution was carried with applause.

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN, in returning thanks, said he would just remark that there was one thing in regard to India worth remembering. Although it might be called a subject country, it enjoyed some privileges which were not enjoyed by all European countries. In India the right of free speaking, free writing, and free meeting was fully conceded. They had not had to ask the Chief Commissioner of Police nor the military commandant of the district before they held that meeting, as they would have had to do in some European countries; and the fact that they could speak there showed that it would be the fault of the people themselves if they did not get their grievances remedied and their reforms carried.

On the motion of Mr. TELANG, a vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

The Conditions and Methods of Industrial Progress in India.

A discussion on "The Conditions and Methods of Industrial Progress in India" was opened in the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, Bombay, under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association.

Sir MUNGALDAS NATHOOBHOY, Knt., C.S.I., presided, and, in opening the proceedings, said : Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in complying with the wishes of the office-bearers of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, that I should preside at this meeting, which has been convened for discussing a most important subject—viz., "The Conditions and Methods of Industrial Progress in India." Mr. W. M. Wood, who has kindly promised to open the discussion, is well known to us all. He is a sincere friend and well-wisher of our countrymen, in whose welfare and prosperity he has always taken deep interest. Suggestions as to the best methods of promoting industrial art in India are invited, with the view of improving the condition of the people—an object we have all at heart, and which is sure to enlist the sympathy of India's best friends. With these brief remarks, I request Mr. Wood to open the discussion.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD then said : Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I must confess I do not like being thus put up as the chief speaker, which makes the occasion much more formal than it is intended to be. I have not been able to prepare any finished paper or essay on the subject, but have only certain rough notes made from time to time. The proposal to have such a discussion has often been talked of by the Committee during the last few months ; but as no one could find time to write a paper and take active steps in the matter, I was asked to open the discussion. All I propose to do is to give you a few heads of the subject, which you may follow out yourselves as occasion arises, now and hereafter. I would also remind you that one reason why we should take up subjects like this is in order to disabuse persons of the notion that this Association is a band of political agitators. We are not going to disavow our political principles, it is true ; but you know that the object of this Association is as much industrial and social as political, and it is with that view I have consented to introduce the subject this evening. Although, however, this is an entirely industrial question, yet we must

not, indeed cannot, ignore the political and national conditions of the country. We must take things as we find them. Political economists are never tired of reminding us that "industry is limited by capital"—i.e., if capital is not increased, industry will not expand, but must struggle on in its old grooves, with enterprise checked and stinted. Well, we do not affirm that capital does not grow in this country, but we do say that it does not grow in proportion to the natural resources of the country. Persons who merely look at the aggregate trade returns, and see the increase of wealth in the Presidency cities, deceive themselves as to the real state of affairs. We must consider the contrast between the coast towns and the far Mofussil, and the contrast in some respects between the present and ancient times. Most of you know the couplet by Goldsmith—

" Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Although that is far from being true as it stands, yet there is a certain sense in which it may be accepted. It may be that in some countries where wealth becomes concentrated and difficult of diffusion amongst all the people, there is no development of industry, and this, with the want of active competition among the capitalists, makes wages low and industry stagnant. I do not say that this is true of India, but it applies to some extent. You might notice that a correspondent of a Bombay paper, while on his way to Delhi from Kattyawar, wrote an account of his journey. He was going through Rajpootana. After describing the scenery, he speaks of the city of Soojutas, one of the greatest curiosities he encountered *en route*. He says : "The massive stone architecture of "the town is of an extraordinary and archaic-looking character, and "seems totally distinct from any Mahomedan or Hindu fashion I have "seen." And then he goes on to say : "The town is large, but seems "deserted ; there are also old copper mines to be seen, and to my mind "the *coup d'ceil* is that of some deserted capital. Can anybody en- "lighten me and others as to its history?" He then goes on : "But of "all things, what most impressed me in this long ride through such a "large portion of India were the evident signs of the decay of local "prosperity and the decline of local affluence. It seems as if the very "life-blood of India had been drained to swell the bloated cities of "Bombay, Calcutta, and other centres of European rule and traffic. "Ahmedabad, Pahlunpoor, Sirohee, Palee, Soojut, Kishengur, Jeypore, "Rewaree—all, in their ruinous palaces and mansions, their evidences of "departed industries, and the once populous streets now vacant, tell the "same tale. This is what Englishmen seldom see, for they seldom care "to dive into the depths of native towns, or to travel along little-used

" routes. They only see the flashy 'improvements' of sham municipalities in their great military stations or sea-ports ; and they flatter "themselves that India is more prosperous now than formerly." Well, that illustrates one aspect of India's condition. In provinces where local prosperity and local affluence once prevailed, there are now deserted cities. We need not take that description absolutely as stated, but it may serve as a set-off against the opinions of casual visitors, and those who never travel beyond the Presidency towns. But to come to the first fact we have to face—accumulation of capital is checked by one-sided relations between the dependent and the ruling country. In regard to India, a great portion of its revenue is spent out of the country. There have been heated controversies on this subject, but there is now no longer any dispute on the fact. The discussions of last year on the currency and silver difficulty had at least the effect of bringing out, notably in Mr. Goschen's Silver Report, this great fact in the industrial and commercial position of India. So much of the revenue being spent on the other side of the globe, it is worse for India in that respect. I will just quote what is said as to the effect of this on industry and trade by the *Economist*, which is the ultimate authority on these subjects. On October 7 it said : "A country which has a tribute "to pay of 15,000,000*l.* annually must send abroad 15,000,000*l.* worth "of commodities more than she receives ; the profits of her various "industries must be less by that 15,000,000*l.* Prices must be lessened "to effect this ; and supposing, as is the case with India, that the "country does not produce the precious metals, prices will thus be "lessened by a corresponding reduction in the import of these metals."

Now I do not mention this to discourage you ; but it is necessary that it should not be forgotten by persons who write so glibly about developing the resources of the country, and who would have you provide steam engines in every province. But we must not be discouraged. There are other countries which are in a worse condition than India. Three or four in Europe might be named. I read the other day about Russia, that there are only 3,000 schools in that country of 80,000,000 of people. That can scarcely be said of India. The writer then goes on to ask : "Is that country rich whose inhabitants are "ignorant and nearer to slavery than to freedom, which is so vast that "the transport of goods is ruinous, and where there is next to no in- "dustry and, so to speak, scarcely any mercantile shipping ? The "railways cannot support themselves ; their traffic lines are so badly "constructed that they are damaged by heavy rains, and traffic is "stopped." Two or three other examples might be taken from other European countries (besides Russia) to show that they are in a worse

state than India. Then you have to consider what are the moral resources of the country. You have thrift, you have industry, and you have intelligence; but for the purposes of our debate we must put it more specifically, and say that in India what you most want is *self-reliance, co-operation, and perseverance*. These are needed above all. I do not say that you have none of these, but you want more of them. By self-reliance, I of course mean amongst yourselves—reliance upon one another by co-operation, I include that of the Government; and as to perseverance, nothing can be done without it. Taking these moral requisites for granted, let us look at the conditions prescribed by the great fact that capital is scarce and very unequally distributed, and interest high. It follows that those industries should be first encouraged which require the smallest proportion of capital. This directs us to agriculture as the one unfailing though insufficient resource of the country. We must turn to the simplest and readiest methods of making that more productive and more profitable. It is no use lecturing the ryot about manuring his fields. He will do that as soon as he can—when he has the means to do it, and not before. The thing is to teach him to cultivate better-paying crops than he does at present; or, what is more to the point, teach him how to increase the yield of those crops with which he is at present familiar. The question is, Who is to teach him? Before attempting to answer that question, I will just give you a recent instance as an illustration, though not nearly so good as some that may occur to you. You may have recently noticed a simple and unpretentious report by Mr. J. M. Pratt, the Collector of Surat. In that report he mentions that last year there were 100 cuttings of rhea fibre planted, and they came up two feet in two months, when the hot weather checked them. Then, again, a few pounds of jute seed were distributed to the owners of *khar* reclaimed land. Some was grown by Mr. Ansell, near Balsar, of a very good fibre. I just mention this to show you that jute will grow in Gujerat. Well, there is now a jute mill in Bombay; and is it not strange that when jute will grow, as it were, next door, they have to get it from Sholapore, where the famine has cut off their supply? Jute is a plant which requires moisture, and I cannot make out why they should look to Sholapore for it, as that is one of the driest districts in India. I cannot now go into the whole question of fibres, but I will mention one called *ostrum*. Dr. Birdwood says that "it is the commonest weed in the Deccan," especially in the more southern parts of it. Colonel Meadows Taylor sent some of it to the Madras Exhibition, and obtained a medal for it, twenty years ago. It is a good strong fibre, and would grow in Gujerat. Then, why is it not grown there or in the Deccan? and why is it not exported? These

are questions which we ought to answer. Materials for sacking, cordage, and paper, as much is wanted in England as you could send at a price that would suit. What strikes me, connected with Mr. Pratt's report, as somewhat applicable to the principle I was speaking of just now—that is, to get the ryot to improve his present methods—is the selection of cotton seed. The attention of the ryots should be drawn to this. No doubt they know about it. You have not to teach them anything about it. What you want is to get them into the way of using it. What happens at present? They mix their last seed with the first. The first is old, and does not germinate; and then they have to buy seed from the Banians, which looks well enough, but is old and does not germinate. This is one point relating to hundreds and thousands of acres in this Presidency. I was going to refer to domestic industry. Well, the selection of seeds could be done by women and children of a family, if you once got them into the way of it. The same remarks apply to grain seeds as to cotton seeds. The ryots understand this. What they want is some sort of impulsion. I may say in regard to the selection of seeds, that some of the greatest successes in English agriculture have been from that process. In regard to cotton seed, it may be remembered that the superior Hingunghat seed was transferred to Khandaish by Mr. Lionel Ashburner, but it deteriorated by being allowed to get mixed with the seed of the district. Well, all expedients of this kind point to methods of developing the resources of the country with no very great amount of capital. I would suggest that small prizes should be offered for the best cotton crop and the best grain crop. The ryot is generally intelligent enough in matters relating to his own interest. Another thing—aloe might be planted instead of the prickly pear. We have, however, discovered lately that the prickly pear is not so bad as we thought; but there can be no doubt that wherever the prickly pear will grow, the aloe will grow, and it is worth from 30*l.* to 50*l.* a ton. Well, speaking of fibre, there is the wild plantain, which is the same as the Manilla hemp. It grows plentifully on the Ghâts, and it would pay to have it systematically collected. The late Mr. Rustomjee Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy spent a deal of money and devoted a great deal of time in collecting and preparing the necessary appliances for this industry. He sent to the Philippine Islands to get a model of the machine the fibre is prepared with. It was a rude implement, certainly, but you must begin with the simplest. I dare say gentlemen present know what Mr. Rustomjee did, and one cannot help admiring him for it. It was in the latter days of his life, when he had no object in doing it but the good of his country. It is an instance of self-reliance and perseverance. What is wanted is co-operation to carry

out such efforts as he made. (Hear, hear.) This applies to the whole of this subject. Where is your Agricultural Society and Horticultural Society, to work out the more advanced questions of productive agriculture? We had one in Bombay once—as our esteemed Chairman, Sir Mungaldas, can tell you, as he was one of its supporters—but it collapsed. Perhaps it attempted too much; it was too big, too ambitious, and it broke down under the weight of its Museum, or something of that kind. There are such institutions in Bengal and Madras, whose reports appear in daily papers there, and they are full of suggestions in regard to improved seeds and different plants. It is in this way that the agricultural resources of many countries have been developed, and we do not see why something of the kind should not be in Bombay. I know there are more planters in the other Presidencies than there are in this one, but there is sufficient agricultural interest here to support something of the kind. But in this direction we ought to look to the Revenue Department of Government for co-operation. When the idea was started to have an Agricultural Department, I opposed it, because I thought our Revenue Department should be the Agricultural Department. We do not make any reproach against the present Revenue officers, because many of them have given great attention to the matter, and I am sure that with their co-operation great improvement in ordinary cultivation would be the result. I think all Revenue officers should be expected to understand agriculture. They ought to be encouraged—indeed, induced—to spend a portion of their furlough in visiting other countries to gather information on these subjects. The great thing to avoid is attempting too much at first. I should mention that the first Secretary of the Agricultural Department, Mr. Allan Hume, took a great deal of pains in bringing out all the information on silk and similar products, and it is recorded for any of you who like to look the records up; another Under-Secretary, Mr. Cotton, went into the question of tobacco. So there is material enough for those who like to go into these questions. We have, too, had some experimental farms. They were not successful. They were too elaborate for the ryot, and not technical enough for scientific purposes; but Mr. Robertson's, at Sydapet, near Madras, seems to have done much good. The direct teacher of the ryot is the merchant and a good market. Let there be a demand, and the ryot will soon learn. In regard to markets, a French writer, M. Laverque, traces the condition of the markets of England and France in a way that is very suggestive as regards India. Of course, he uses the word "market" in a wide sense. The growth of other industries by the side of agriculture, he thinks, should be stimulated.

Next to the want of capital in India is the want of water. The

subject of irrigation is one of great difficulty, simple as it looks at first sight. I must, for want of time, pass it over lightly. I will just say that it is not only huge canals we want, but village tanks, dams across streams, and wells. In regard to relief works in connection with irrigation, I will just read you an extract from one of the famine correspondents in the Madras Presidency. The writer says: "With regard to relief works, the popular opinion in this district is that money might be spent to greater advantage in the repairing of breached tanks than in the way it is at present. Numbers of such tanks were breached in, and Government gave some to private individuals to repair and use the water at reduced rental themselves. The best they reserved to themselves, with the view of repairing when possible. Financial reasons have apparently so far prevented the progress of the work, and the tanks remain unrepaired. Large numbers of such unbreached tanks exist in each talook, and relief to the advantage of both people and Government might be afforded by the repairing of them. The present tanks are capable of being almost indefinitely improved, and this subject of tanks the Bellary district public would recommend to have the first place in the estimation of Government. Spring channels from rivers and even tank beds, as well as other places, could also be undertaken, and present ones improved. This would give immediate relief to some districts by raising a crop, the value of which even now would be inestimable." In the *Pioneer* of the 12th inst., there is an article in which it is shown how much difficulty there is in regard to making irrigation pay. It seems to me that the difficulty would be vastly increased by such an attempt as the writer suggests, to show only a minimum profit on each work. Our engineers will construct ambitious schemes, and the consequence is, many are not likely to pay, but others will return even all the large sums invested in them. Irrigation should be treated as a whole. The returns from it should all go into one fund, with certain exceptions in regard to particular localities. It was mentioned recently that one portion of the Jumna Canal paid from 30 to 40 per cent. It would not do to abandon profit for the sake of a theory, because the profit is the result of what the people have gained by water, and, as I have said, the rule should be to have a general fund to receive all profits from irrigation.

Not only should we get the ryot to grow more remunerative crops, but crops which cost little for transit. That is a principle of very great importance, because communication here is expensive; and if, instead of heavy and bulky crops, you could have light and more valuable products, the cost of carriage would be less, and an advantage to all concerned. One thing we require—a more assiduous study of vegetable chemistry,

and our medical graduates and natural philosophers would do well to turn their attention to it. Dr. Birdwood speaks very earnestly on this in his preface to his Linnean paper on "Frankincense." I have asked how it was that this was not done. The answer of my doctor friends is, "It is a dirty business; it involves much personal trouble; it stains the hands of the operators, and they inhale pungent, unpleasant fumes." But we must not admit of these as hindrances. In England there used to be a certain class of people who sung—

"We are the boys who scorn to soil
Our lily hands with dirty toil,"

but surely that cannot be said of your medical students in this country. In the way I have mentioned, I am sure they could do much for the country. They need to look into the matter; they much need to have more self-reliance and perseverance.

Before leaving the subject of agriculture, let us skip from the ryot to the rajah. It must appear to you how much easier it is for the Native princes and large zemindars and jaghedars not hampered with budgets to do a great deal more than they do. We know they are exposed to plunder, but we might expect them to do much more than they do. You notice that the Maharajah of Cashmere has engaged a Frenchman to introduce the grape-vine, and has imported two and a-half lakhs of vines. There is an instance of the thorough way in which a Native chief can set about these things. There are many Native chiefs in Kattyawar, for instance, who, if they wished, could increase and improve cultivation amazingly. We must not forget the interesting subject of sericulture—the cultivation of silk; but I must not dwell upon it. It is very important, as being connected with domestic industry. Much of the work might be done by the women and children of a family in this pursuit. There is not much outlay required, if only the industry were once set going. There has in this been good evidence of co-operation on the part of Government. Major Coussmaker has been trying to domesticate or tame the tusser, or wild moth. There is no doubt that a most considerable industry might be promoted in this respect. And, as you know, Mr. Paul Mowis has made a remarkable success in the introduction of a hybrid moth, between the tusser and the Japanese moth. He has now quite passed the phase of experiment; it is now certain that hybrids reproduce; and he has been asked to establish four farms at Rutnagherry, at Khandeish, at Panchgunny, and in Gujerat. The most important part of the discovery of Mr. Mowis is, that the hybrids do not require, as the ordinary silkworm does, the mulberry-tree for their food. Both kinds of moth feed on trees that

abound, or will grow, all over the Presidency, such as varieties of the banyan tree. And speaking of these subjects, we should never forget the gentleman whose name this institution bears. (Cheers.) Many of you know what immense pains he took in agricultural experiments. Perhaps you may say they did not pay,—that he lost money. Perhaps it was so; but at least he showed others how to avoid mistakes. His name ought ever to be had in honour amongst us. (Cheers.)

Next we come to the artisan. The first point of importance is the substitution of new mechanical tools, and the better use of present ones. We should have the lathe, &c., to help this. The subject naturally takes us to Industrial Schools. You may have seen that Mr. Hart Davies, a young civilian at Hyderabad, Sind, has established an Industrial School there. The cost of founding it was Rs.4,000, and Government was to provide other Rs.4,000. His description of the interest taken in the subject is very gratifying. He says: "Sind is the only "country in India where no steps have been taken to improve the low "standard of industrial work; and similar tools are used as were used "two thousand years ago." But I believe that there are many other provinces of India in the same backward condition. Mr. Davies proposes to set up two shops for carpentering, pottery, &c., and to establish a blacksmith's shop and an engine-fitting shop, where a knowledge of machinery could be got. Boys might be sent to that school, and prizes of tools, &c., given to them when they left it. There is no such school in Bombay, but I do not see why there should not be. We have the Sassoon Reformatory, which is doubtless useful in the administration of justice, and the reformation of juvenile scamps, but we do not know what use has been made of it in regard to industrial training; but it might be made useful in that way, as might also the Government workhouses. There is an Industrial School at Dharwar, opened three years ago. You should have inquiries made about that. There is a large Public Workshop at Dehree, in which Lord Northbrook took a great interest, and many Eurasian boys are being taught the iron-trade there. When the Prince of Wales was here, there was a proposal by the Sirdars of the Deccan to establish one in honour of his visit, and the Prince of Wales, through Sir Bartle Frere, said he would be extremely glad for that to be done. I have not heard anything of it since, but the project should not be lost sight of; and if there was a more general zeal in the matter, much could be done to raise the low standard of ordinary industrial work. But do not attempt too much. There was an Industrial School at Rutnagherry, but I believe it failed, because they attempted too much; and that, I will repeat, is what we must most guard against. This want of industrial finish meets you at

every turn. I have some notes from a Bombay paper on the exhibition of jewellery at Delhi. The writer says that the skilled lapidary, as the term is understood in Europe, does not exist in India. The diamonds are badly cut. It is a source of constant complaint that there is a want of careful finish about Native workmanship. The work is done clumsily. That is a thing to which attention should be directed, and that would be one of the uses of Industrial Schools. I was glad to notice that Sir Philip Wodehouse, at the School of Art, the other day, counselled them to restore their department for metal-work. Some very good metal-work used to be done in the school under Mr. Higgins's direction. That should be followed up. Speaking of jewellery, there are the Cambay stones. The supply of material for all practical purposes is unlimited ; but have any of you ever tried to get any quantity, so as to export them ? Why should there not be a large export trade in these stones ? There is no attempt made to induce European merchants to buy them. Caste customs or traditions, I believe, are in the way ; and caste is in itself a sort of settled trade's union. There is the same difficulty in regard to the Kutch embossed silver-work. We never hear that it is not well done, but, for the reason just named, it is difficult to get any quantity. The other day Lord Northbrook, speaking at Ryde, commended, without stint, the taste of the people of India in artistic work ; but there remain many defects in execution. We want to see if we cannot excite a great demand, and meet the wants of other nations.

I have deferred until now speaking of steam. And why ? It is the great agent of manufacturing power in these days ; therefore, why should we defer speaking of it until now ? Because, although India would be glad to utilize steam as much as possible, yet it lacks fuel and iron. On the coast, where you have European coal and iron, it is well ; but, after all, steam machines are exotic, and therefore you should use as much as possible other motive-powers. More than one-half the cotton export is still cleaned by the old Churka gin. Why is not the Macarthy gin more generally used ? Because you cannot work with steam profitably, except on the coast and near the great lines of railway. There are a few exceptional places up-country where steam cotton mills succeed, as at Cawnpore and two or three other places in Oude. Those mills mainly use wood-fuel, but there firewood happens to be cheap and available ; but no dependence can be placed upon the supply of wood-fuel for any length of time. Another notable exception is his Highness the Holker's mill at Indore. I have seen it, and the marvel is how it got there. We must not inquire too closely how much it cost. Some people speak of the Maharajah as rather close-fisted in money matters ; but there was self-reliance in this case, and there was also co-operation, for

his Highness secured the co-operation of an efficient engineer. Such men as he are worth their weight in gold to India. Mr. Broom built and fitted that mill from the very foundation-stone, and though its first cost was necessarily high, the mill in its working is a very great success.

But we cannot depend upon these isolated experiments up-country. You must look more to those manufactures which require the smallest proportion of steam-power. The Sassoon Silk Mill is a success, and in that case the cost of the motive-powers must be much smaller than that of any cotton mill. The Alliance Mills, too, are trying the manufacture of silk and other fabrics. There are many minor manufactures which might be taken up. For instance, why do you not weave stockings? Nearly all well-to-do Natives in cities wear cotton stockings, and they are very dear to buy in the Bazaar. Stockings could readily be woven from the yarn that is spun here. Why does not some one start a stocking factory? Why should you export or waste your spare cotton seed? It is heavy and bulky, and the oil could be used for many purposes in this country. Then, again, look by what an antediluvian process you crush all oil seeds here. It has been shown that it actually pays to send seeds to England to be crushed, and bring the oil back from Europe. Why not crush the seeds here? It could be done at small expense, and with little motive-power. In regard, too, to paper, a large part might be made in this country. There is material in abundance; why is it not done? Very little steam-power and fuel are required, but a large quantity of water of good quality is needed. That is a difficulty, I know; but water-supply is to be had. But again I say, do not attempt too much. There was one very good project to establish a paper mill on the Tul Ghâts, but it was withdrawn,—I cannot quite say why. Perhaps it was too large, but I think it was because the authorities exacted too high terms for the site and the use of the water. I should be the last person to suggest that the rights of the villagers should be interfered with, but many productive projects could be carried out with a little co-operation on the part of the authorities. There are two or three paper mills in Bombay, and they pay. Why are there not more? Better paper, too, could be made than is made. I am afraid that in this matter there is a deficiency in those very qualities I have spoken of—self-reliance, perseverance, and co-operation. Sugar, too, can be produced abundantly in Gujerat, and might be refined to a great extent. The process, up to a certain point, is cheap and simple, and the steam-power required is very small indeed.

Connected with this part of the subject, let me point out that it is obviously desirable you should make in and for this country those articles which are most bulky, and which cost most in freight, such as earthen-

ware, pottery, and glassware. The materials are within easy reach of Bombay. In all matters of this kind, though little steam is required, fuel is necessary; and in Bombay you can have that cheap enough for these purposes. Burn and Co., the great contractors of Calcutta, have persevered for years with a large manufactory of earthenware at Raneegunge, and have made drain-pipes there. It is a striking illustration of the cost of communication by railway, that Burn and Co. have not been able to sell any quantity of their heavy earthenware in Calcutta, though it is only 130 miles from Raneegunge; drain-pipes can be brought out as cheaply from England. Thus, wherever it is practicable, you want cheaper communication by canals instead of by railways. There have been experiments in Bombay in making earthenware and pottery. Mr. Terry, of the School of Art, can show some admirable specimens of glazed pottery made from materials found in the neighbourhood; but we do not know about the cost, and, until we know that, we cannot say whether the industry is successful. I know that there is abundant material for earthenware and porcelain within easy reach of the Malabar Coast, if not near here.

Not only should we try to do with as little steam as possible, but we should look out for some other motive force, and other fuel than wood and coal. For many years past there has been a talk of utilizing petroleum for steam-engine furnaces. There are difficulties in the way, but they can be got over; and there is plenty of petroleum in Burmah and the Punjab. It would be one-tenth the bulk of coal; and thus, where steam-engines cannot work because of the cost of fuel, this more portable article could be used. In regard to lapidary's and smaller metal-work, it may be as well to mention that a Frenchman has invented a blowpipe by which petroleum is used so as to fuse copper and other metals. Here there is one of those portable appliances which should be insisted upon for use in India. Now, it is an old joke that coal is only petrified sunbeams; and many an ingenious man has tried to make up for want of coal by utilizing the sun's rays. If you could only bottle up the sun's rays in India during the monsoon, we could defy the world. One of the first of the notes I made on this purpose related to the discovery by a Frenchman—a schoolmaster. He has been experimenting for ten years, and he has succeeded in discovering an important invention, which he thinks may be of immense service in Algiers and India, where fuel is dear and sunlight abundant. Fortunately for us, Mr. Adams, an officer of the High Court, tells us all about this in one of the Bombay papers of this morning. Mr. Adams has himself made much progress with his own invention for this purpose, but the last stage reveals a difficulty with the Patent Office in Calcutta. When a man has been able to adapt the

sun's rays to an industrial purpose, it will show a striking instance of the want of co-operation on the part of the authorities if their rigid rules frustrate him. I have much more matter suitable for the introduction of such a debate as this, but I feel I am trespassing on your time. We must not, however, forget the oldest power in the world, unless it be the wind ; I mean water-power. There are many places in India where it could be used with advantage, but it may be somewhat inconsistent. This uncertainty, after all, is only a matter of calculation ; but there is one thing we cannot calculate, and that is the attitude of the Government authorities. The authorities deserve every commendation for regarding the rights of the ryots ; but they should be reasonable in this, and ask if certain things will be to the welfare of the whole country. There is a large cotton-mill project, the site of which is on the Tapti, the machinery of which is to be driven by water-power. It has been worked out by very energetic men, who have been two or three years in making their preparations. You have so far self-reliance and perseverance, but now they have arrived at the point where co-operation is wanted. The project seems very sound and promising in every respect ; but in these cases Government ought to wait ten or twenty years before they ask for any considerable return as royalty. When I was speaking about the scarcity of capital, I did not complete my illustration. The situation is this : you have scarcely any class who can afford to wait two or three years before any large project begins to pay, and that is an additional reason why you should not attempt too much.

Mineralogy is a subject of great moment, though I know there are difficulties in the way. We ought to develop the mineral resources of India, which are sufficiently real to tempt capitalists. I must ask you to excuse me for having run on so long. Some one else will now follow up the subject. The watchwords in this matter are Self-reliance, Perseverance, and Co-operation. One of the most noted writers of our day has said, " Trust thyself; all nature vibrates to that iron string." Though your faculty of self-reliance may manifest itself in a different way from us, you have the quality if you will only cherish it. I might have given you many examples of men in England who have from very small means enriched themselves, and formed great pillars of the State there. One instance, just mentioned in the paper, is that of Sir Titus Salt, who has just died ; and many like him might be mentioned as worthy exemplars. (Applause.)

Mr. K. T. TELANG said it was impossible, considering the late hour, to do anything like justice to this important subject ; and he proposed that the discussion be adjourned.

Mr. NANABHAI RUSTAMJEE RANINA seconded the motion, and it was carried.

On the motion of Mr. TELANG, a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, and to Mr. W. Martin Wood for his address, was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

At the adjourned meeting, Dr. Thomas Blaney was called to the chair.

Dr. BLANEY said : I have been called upon rather suddenly and unexpectedly to re-open the debate on "The Conditions and Methods of Industrial Progress in India." This is truly a very wide subject, so wide, indeed, as to be co-equal with the social condition of India itself. The industrial progress of a country discloses its intelligence, its energy, its strength, its power, and its wealth. The industrial classes form the backbone of every community. In considering, then, the industrial progress of this country, we are debating one of the most important questions of national life. Industrial progress may be gauged by the number of people in a community who are engaged in industry, by the time spent in it, and the wages it yields. And we may compare these conditions or facts concerning one country with similar conditions and facts in other countries. Viewed in this way, it must be confessed that the industrial progress of India is not what it might and what it should be. It is made a boast too frequently that India is the brightest jewel in the British Crown; that it possesses a very large revenue. But it must be remembered that the wealth of India is great only in proportion to the great extent of territory. Individual wealth is by no means great. The country lacks men who have gained their wealth by industrial progress. Even the men who have made themselves wealthy by trade and barter are few enough in these days, and the wealth that is generally made in trade, if it is made in an import trade, is made at the expense of the people who support the trade. In the matter of individual wealth India must be regarded as a poor country. Her internal industry is mainly confined to agriculture. As to the time spent in industrial occupations in India, it may be observed that in very few occupations do the people work up to the full measure of their strength, and perhaps this feature in the national life in India has had something to do with retarding industrial progress. According to the time and strength spent in industry, and according to the nature of the industry itself, so is the wage of the labourer, and we find the labouring wage in India to be lower than it is in most other countries. As regards agricultural progress in India, the tea and coffee plantations should be borne

in mind, as proving to some extent the advantages of industrial progress. Capital and labour have been expended in these industries, and if large fortunes have not yet been gathered in by the holders, they soon will be. Let anybody look at the quotations in the share lists of the tea companies, and it will be found that great progress has been made and great results achieved. An importing has become an exporting country in regard to tea, and this is what all true industrial life should aim at. But apart from industrial progress in agriculture, what is the condition of the other industries in India? Not many of these industries can be called progressive. Not a few of the older industries are retrogressive, and some have been extinguished by outside competition. This fact alone should be sufficient to awaken the people to the true sense of their industrial condition. It should be observed that although industries may and do fail in the hands of some persons, the industries themselves, as a national matter, are not allowed to die out amongst an enterprising and industrial people: the failure of one man very often lends spirit to another, and the experience which was gained by one man's failure is made use of for securing success to another. In this we see manifested the true spirit of enterprise, and it is pre-eminently the spirit which India requires. I hope to be pardoned for dwelling upon this national defect, for I see in it the great bar to industrial progress. That progress is not so much retarded for the want of capital, as it is for the want of faith, the want of inquiry, the want of perseverance and of will. For all purposes of industrial progress there is no real want of capital in India. The failure to establish profitable industries in the way they should be established in this country arises chiefly from two causes—an unhealthy scepticism and a want of careful personal inquiry. I say nothing of the want of national pride which is the characteristic of the man who will venture nothing for the good of his countrymen. Is it nothing to have been associated with the first rising of an industry which contributes to the permanent wealth of a country? In such a case the profits go hand in hand with the national spirit. I take it to be a great privilege to be regarded as the friend of generous enterprise in establishing new industries, and I believe and hope that this is the spirit in which we are all met here this evening. Money-making is not our first consideration, though it undoubtedly does form part of the subject that is now before us. Our great wish is, that the whole of the industrial classes of India—and these include many millions—shall be elevated out of their present poverty and made better, wiser, more industrious and thrifty; and all this they will become if the conditions and methods of industrial progress in India are advanced either by reforming old industries or establishing new ones. My friend

Mr. Wood has touched upon a great variety of industries which should be taken up and encouraged in Western India, and has referred to the principles on which they should be established. I may be allowed to state, as far as a great part of Western India is concerned, that not only is there much room for new industries, but a rich field around us for the profitable investment of capital. Nature in our immediate vicinity is much more bounteous than many are aware. The country is rich in resources ; and it is not a little marvellous that men should be making discoveries in the earth, seas, and rivers around us, as if we had but just landed on an unknown and unexplored continent. Yet so it is ; and if any one will think of any new and suitable industry which might be profitably established, he will find the means of carrying it on in rich abundance almost at his door. There is capital, there is labour, and there is material ; there is also room for the industries which these could establish : a will to inquire, a will to invest money, and a will to defer failure are alone required to bless the country with wealth and contentment. If the labouring classes are deficient in intelligence and resource, let it be ours to enlighten and to extend to them the help they require. This is our responsibility and our duty. It is the duty of this Association to advance the material progress of the country, and I know of no better way of doing this than by raising the industrial classes to a higher level in the ways which suggest themselves by the subject your Committee has set before us. If we are faithful in this, your Association will secure for itself a higher respect and more honour than it could gain in any other way. This is not a work of Government ; it is a social work in a high sense, and it is a home work. Our money and brains are our own. Government will help us when they can do so. On the day when the proclamation was made that Her Gracious Majesty the Queen had assumed the title of Empress of India, the Honourable Mr. Rogers asked us to give Government credit for good intentions. The request was both reasonable and fair, and shall we not reply, "We do trust Government"? I make bold to say that if the material progress of India becomes sensibly increased, whether by the intelligence and zeal of this Association or in any other way, nobody will be more pleased at the improvement than the members of the various Governments in India. This being so, what more need be said to encourage us to take the earliest opportunity to give a practical turn to this debate? Let us establish prizes for new local industries and for improvements in old ones ; but these prizes must be sufficiently attractive to encourage sound practical men to compete for them. Anything that will economize labour and fuel must take a front rank in industrial progress. I do not hesitate to say that if these aids to power had been better attended to

than they have been, many new industries would have been established before now. I hold in my hand two serial advertising papers which I received by last mail; they are "The Monthly Export Prices Current and Trade Report" and "The Chemist and Druggist," both wonderful typographical productions. They amaze us by the number of the advertisements, including almost everything used in civilized life. But, mark well, they are *export* reports, and in these may be found a variety of goods which India can produce quite as well and more cheaply. Here you have the Patent Terebene Soap, and a dozen of triple extracts of delightful perfumes; you have harness of all kinds, and harness compositions, and varnishes; glassware in every variety, skins of many kinds, bone spoons and puff boxes, sponges, paper of every kind, medicinal waters, toothpicks, hair dyes, silicate paints, wall papers, vegetable parchments, castor oil, isinglass, paint-brushes, preparations of borax, patent candles, playing cards, Judson's powder, dyes, water filters, stoneware and terra-cotta, inks, mineral and vegetable acids, and eau de Cologne. I have taken all these down at random from one of these advertising mediums. You all know that these goods are largely imported into this country, and the question arises, Why should any of them be imported? I see in this short list, out of dozens of other imported articles that might be named, many that are capable of being profitably manufactured in this country; and why should they not be manufactured here? I was recently appealed to by a practical man to help him to start an extensive mechanical school in Bombay where Native lads could be taught practical mechanics. The idea was a good one, but the terms were not such as I could conscientiously recommend to my Native friends. This is, however, one way of establishing industries in India, and it is well worth consideration. For my own part, I much prefer individual to joint-stock enterprise wherever it is possible for one or two men to start an industry for themselves: the difference is this, that whereas joint-stockery may fail for want of due care and attention and other causes, individual operation is sure to be well looked after. But, on the other hand, joint-stockery can secure the services of skilled labour better than individuals, because the former can better afford to pay for them, while it can also afford to wait longer for the profits of the industry. But whether industries are established in India on a large scale by joint-stock enterprise, or on a small scale by private individuals, it is the duty of this Association to extend what help it can to every promising industry. Let us take courage ourselves and seize the earliest opportunity of giving the evidence of our sincerity by not only wishing well to the industrial classes, but by striving to promote their welfare by every means in our power.

Mr. ARDASEER FRAMJEE MOOS said that he wished to draw the attention of his hearers to one branch of industry of which he had the honour to be one of the promoters. He took that opportunity to inform the meeting that a sugar manufactory was on or about the 10th of May last about to be established, but for want of necessary capital, which was estimated at two lakhs, the project fell through. There was not a single Native found to help them on, through sheer apathy; but subsequently the project being known to the Baroda State, it was taken up by Mr. Melvill, the British Agent there, and Sir T. Madava Row, who set the establishment going. The rich alluvial soil yielded a plentiful crop of sugar-cane, which was experimented upon in various ways by two experts from the Punjab who were specially employed by the State. They were able to produce molasses 50 per cent. more than by the ordinary process, by an admixture of the juice of a plant named *dhamnee*, the botanical name of which he could not recollect, and also a little carbonate of soda to throw down the impurities. The ordinary process of extracting the juice from sugar-cane and then boiling it for a length of time caused waste, and therefore a proportionate loss of sugar. The soil about Gundevi, a village near Bulsar, was as rich as the soil at Baroda, and the sugar-cane produced there was as luscious and juicy as that grown in any part of Guzerat. He (the speaker) advised all to experiment upon the juice of those plants at Gundevi, which was within an easy distance from Bombay, and the return, he believed, would not be at all discouraging. He had been inquiring for more particulars of the soil, &c., of Gundevi, and he hoped to get them now without any further delay. He said that he gave this as a bit of information, as it formed a portion of local industry, and therefore within the scope of the subject in question.

The Honourable RAO SAHEB WISHWANATH NARAYEN MUNDLIK, C.S.I., said that he was glad to see such a practical gentleman preside on the occasion. There was a great deal of misconception as to the object and doings of the East India Association. The industrial improvement of the country was as much at heart to the body of the Association as its social and political changes. The best thing for the permanent elevation of the country and its people was to cultivate the several industrial branches now existing in the country. He could not speak in flattering terms of the new Academicians, who had neither the energy nor the perseverance to elevate their less instructed brethren from the depth of ignorance. The study of the works of Macaulay, Addison, and such other authors only would scarcely prepare them to do service to their country, unless they descended into, as it were, the social and industrial gutters of society.

He was of opinion that people indulging in roses, lavender, and fashions could not elevate their country. It must be a man's ambition to belong to an industrial class. Even the making of a common needle or a smoking pipe could be elevated into a profession which might be called honourable and at the same time prove very lucrative. The people of this country had, fortunately, at their disposal different mines, if they were to examine the various soils of this extensive country. The pioneers of geological survey had laid down that there were extensive iron and coal mines in Central India, and it was, therefore, for her people to devote themselves towards the utilization of those products. Literary education served good for the groundwork, but scientific knowledge, thought the speaker, was necessary for the utilization of the vast and varied mines of product that were available in this country. The honourable speaker then asked to be excused from further addressing the meeting, as his labours at the Legislative Council the whole of the day had begun to tell on his health.

Mr. KASSINATH TRIMBUCK TELANG said that he would have preferred if Mr. Wood, in the opening of the discussion, had not confined himself more to the agricultural pursuits than the manufacturing industry of the country. The agricultural development of the country was not of equal value with the development of her manufacturing resources. The ryots in the Mofussil were well acquainted with the conditions of agricultural industry, but as they could not follow it to any advantage on account of the lack of sympathy and co-operation of the Survey Department, they did not hitherto take care to see it fully improved and developed. The industry could not be well developed without sufficient capital, which the ryots, on account of the cent. per cent. increase of assessment, could barely afford to lay by. Unless some improvement in the system of land survey was effected, no fresh zeal in the agricultural classes would induce them to pursue the industry on a more improved and refined basis. The speaker then complained about the system of education as imparted in their schools and colleges. He thought that natural science should be made a subject of compulsory study, as it materially aided persons in industrial pursuits.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD said that he principally referred to the agricultural industry in his opening address, as that required but a comparatively very small capital, and was, besides, within the reach of all. He thought that better cotton and grain would be produced in India if the present conditions and methods of agricultural industry were carefully looked into. He (Mr. Wood) shared the desire of the Hon.

Rao Saheb Wishwanath and Mr. Telang for a thorough change in the curriculum of studies in the colleges in India. Natural sciences should have preference over other branches of study, as it was by means of the diffusion of scientific knowledge that new industries might be inaugurated and carefully developed. The speaker then referred to the vegetable tallow of China, which, he said, could be made in India from the *kokum* plant, that yields an emollient gum. Such small industries should be looked after in the commencement. The science of mineralogy should also have their best attention, as it laid open a vast field of industry in Hyderabad and surrounding countries, where all sorts of minerals abounded. The only thing he objected to was that they should aspire after accomplishing too much at a time, but he thought they should by slow degrees work their way towards the improvement and development of the industrial pursuits in India.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD then read the following memorandum, which had been sent in by Mr. JAVERILAL UMIASHUNKA, who was unable to attend the meeting: "The subject of your discussion is one fraught with deep national interest for this country, and which cannot be too often or too publicly discussed. It is true that a certain progress in industrial enterprise has already been made in India, but any one who goes into the interior of the country and looks at its boundless resources and the increasing wants of the population, will find ample scope and direction for a variety of industries, agricultural, manufacturing, and mining. He will feel, on reflection, that what has already been done in this direction forms but a small part of what remains to be done. As evidence of the progress already made by India in industrial enterprise, we all know that Calcutta can point to her jute mills, which appear to have taken as firm a root there as jute mills in Dundee, to her coal mines and her indigo; while Assam and Northern India may boast of their tea plantations and the rapid progress made in the Indian tea trade with England. In the South of India, Wynnaad and Ceylon, coffee plantations have of late received a steady impetus. On our own side, we have cotton mills, a characteristic feature of which is, that by far the largest portion of the capital invested in them is entirely Native capital. It is possible that an industry may be overdone by restricting it wholly to one channel. This tendency to follow the beaten track because of the success already achieved in it, is, perhaps, somewhat too strong here, though even here a revulsion of feeling, so natural to every enterprise, has long set in. But there is nothing to discourage industrial enterprise in other than the trodden path, and silk mills and a jute mill in Bombay have already taken a start. The requisites to further enterprise are, I believe, capital, neces-

sary skill, knowledge of the resources of the country and of the wants of the people, a knowledge as to places where, alone owing to natural advantages, a certain enterprise may be made to result in success, and, above all, a careful and honest management, such as will inspire investors with confidence as to its ultimate success. These go to make up, in my opinion, the principal elements of success. And if they are secured, one cannot see why paper mills, dyeing and calico-printing establishments, soap and glassware manufactories, &c., should not flourish in our country. How each of these elements may be best secured may well be points for discussion. As to capital, one may inquire what it is which prevents the free flow of English capital into India. If super-abundant English capital finds employment in American and Egyptian loans, in Russian and Turkish debentures, and foreign securities of a doubtful nature, it may be well worth inquiring what are the obstacles to its finding its way in a country with which the English nation is far more intimately connected, and where the nation has, perhaps, far better chances of recovering it, or of, at all events, preventing it from being irretrievably lost, than in any other country in the world ; since of all things one point is clear, that an English capitalist has better means of ascertaining in this country whether, and how far, his capital is or is not usefully and profitably laid out. Occasions must certainly be rare in India (inflations of credit and panics being always excepted) when he finds himself ruined in investment and suffering in reputation, like the investor in one of *Punch's* famous cartoons of a 'Turkish Bath.' The subject is suggestive of many thoughts which will doubtless present themselves to the minds of the members."

Dr. BLANEY, in closing the meeting, impressed upon his hearers the necessity of publishing the reports of the discussion, so as to disseminate their ideas throughout the length and breadth of the country.





OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

The Dangers and the Advantages of Parliamentary and Popular (English) Interference in the Government of India.

PAPER BY JAMES ROUTLEDGE, Esq.,

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, ON
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1878.

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES STANSFIELD, M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Wednesday afternoon, February 20th, 1878; the subject for consideration being as above stated, introduced by Mr. James Routledge.

The Right Hon. JAMES STANSFIELD, M.P., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were General Sir George Balfour, K.C.B., M.P., General Sir George Malcolm, K.C.B., Mr. Edward Jenkins, M.P., Mr. John Whitwell, M.P., General Cavenagh, Major-General G. Burn, Major-General W. Richardson, C.B., Colonel P. T. French, Colonel A. B. Rathborne, Colonel Swayne, Captain W. C. Palmer, Rev. William Derling, Rev. James Long, Rev. F. Storrs Turner, Surgeon-General Balfour, Dr. R. Moore, Mr. Richard Congrave, Mr. K. M. Dutt, Mr. Robert H. Elliot, Mr. George Foggo, Mr. H. W. Freeland, Mr. Abdul Haleem, Mr. Abul Hassan, Mr. D. O. Haswell, Mr. A. R. Hutchins, Mr. James Hutton, Mr. John Jones, Mr. J. C. Macgregor, Mr. William Maitland, Mr. W. Malcolm, Mr. William Martin, Mr. James Mowatt, Mr. George Palmer, B.C.S., Mr. William Wedderburn, B.C.S., &c.

The Right Hon. CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, briefly
PART 2.—VOL. XI.

introduced Mr. James Routledge to the meeting, and added that it would be more convenient to defer any remarks which he would have to make till the termination of the discussion which would doubtless follow the reading of the paper.

Mr. JAMES ROUTLEDGE then read the following paper :—

Two speeches made recently by Mr. Bright at Manchester, and two letters in reply to them by Sir James Stephen, led me to think that the Association might not object to consider, from a popular point of view, the subject of this paper : “The Dangers and the Advantages of Parliamentary and Popular (English) Interference in the Government of India.” That there are such dangers few persons who know anything of India will doubt—though the dangers are at times magnified, in some cases selfishly, in some from a want of consideration for the lessons of history. That there have been such advantages in the past is, I submit, one of the clearest of historical facts—though the advantages have not always taken the form and colour desired by those who have brought parliamentary or popular influences to bear on Indian affairs. That there are such advantages at the present time, and, moreover, that the interference of Parliament, and of the nation in its great popular capacity, is more necessary, though also more dangerous, than it ever was before—more necessary because we every year act more and more in the light of a higher civilization, in which India by English influences has a share, and more dangerous because we are every year manufacturing sharper weapons which “cut both ways,” and which we can no longer keep to ourselves,—I shall endeavour at least to suggest in this paper.

If, after reading the speeches of Mr. Bright and the replies of Sir James Stephen, any grave, earnest Anglo-Indian were asked to pronounce judicially upon the points at issue, in favour of either disputant, he would probably look with despair upon the duty committed to him. In both cases we have exceedingly sweeping language which would not stand the test of examination; in both those strange accusations of ignorance brought against opponents—accusations which few men ever make without having cause to regret them, and which never appear even passably well when stated as points in debate against honourable antagonists.

If we followed Mr. Bright, imbibing the spirit, beyond the letter, of his speech, or followed the letter to its natural and legitimate conclusion, we should see in the East India Company a piratical company, and little more. We should forget the qualities of undoubted heroism that the Company called into being, the noble lives the Company was enabled

to spend, the splendid virtues of patience, resolute perseverance, high courage, and, indeed, self-abnegation, by means of which the position of England in India was won and has been maintained.

We should be in danger also of forgetting that many of the Company's conquests were made with extreme reluctance, and from a sense, which impartial history will not readily dispute, of absolute necessity—sometimes resting on the law of self-preservation narrowed to the one issue, "If I do not kill you, I must submit to be killed by you," sometimes on the broad ground of an ambitious but not necessarily vicious policy, for the permanent maintenance of the foot-hold acquired in India. If we imbibed this faith, we should have a very dark, a very mournful, an utterly brigand history to look back upon during the century of England's Empire in India. I think Mr. Bright is wrong in much with respect to these details, but I think he is right in much in the mightier essential principle. I do also maintain, and that most sincerely and earnestly, that the principles laid down by Sir James Stephen, and in particular those relating to ambition and conquest, would, if maintained generally, make the rule of England in India detested and detestable, and would, in God's good time, bring it to an end in unmitigated shame. It cannot be supposed that Sir James Stephen intended his words to have the signification that attaches to the low brutal idea of conquest, but we may well fear that the words will be taken in a sense wider than his meaning; and I think we are bound to reject as fallacious very many of his remarks, take them in the most favourable light we can.

There are, then, these two widely different, and indeed antagonistic, points of view from whence subjects relating to India may be discussed. I believe that neither the one nor the other is a perfectly safe point of view, and that either, if left to itself, would endanger great interests. Mr. Bright, standing on as lofty ground as ever yet has been attained in politics, allows too little for human frailty, for exigencies incident to conditions of society altogether unusual if not unparalleled. Sir James Stephen, standing on the official ground, would, as far as I see, discard, where politics are concerned, all the lessons of English history in India save those which show us how to hold fast what we have acquired. His views of the duties of a statesman, as of a soldier, would be mainly directed to that one end; and if the world were fatherless, and chance the one supreme law, the end might, on these principles, be arrived at, though it is very questionable whether either the conquerors or the conquered would be any the better for the success achieved.

There is, however, a third—the strictly just, impartial, historical—point of view; and that view, I think, may at times be as far beyond the

scope of merely official persons on the one hand, and of popular meetings on the other, as it is always above the strife of parties and the aims of self-interest. Whether it is possible in this paper to stand on ground at once thoroughly English in spirit, yet perfectly impartial and true to the interests of all human kind, I do not know ; but I think that if this ground can be taken, it will be worth more than that fashionable praise of our forefathers, and of ourselves, which, though it may elicit the applause of English meetings, large and small, "select" and general, is in reality one of the poorest of all methods of throwing away words.

Passing by, for the moment, questions as to the dangers or advantages of popular interference in the government of India, I desire to face a preliminary question as to the reasonableness or otherwise of that interference. Sir James Stephen is not by any means alone when he sneers at the ignorance, with reference to India, of such meetings as those which Mr. Bright addressed. It is a common, and I will venture to say it is a very foolish sneer. That the ignorance exists, I do not doubt, but I am so doubtful as to its extent that I heartily wish Sir James Stephen could have the personal gratification, which he desires, of cross-examining some of the people to whom Mr. Bright spoke, provided only that they could cross-examine him in return, and that he would reply without word-fence. I think he would here and there find a Tartar where facts were in question, though the facts might be stated in a dialect, and not in the language of the Universities. Granting, however, that the ignorance is all that is asserted, I say, (1) that no honest attempt is made by Anglo-Indians to remove the evil by stating simple facts in a simple way, and (2) that Mr. Forster's Education Bill (amended in one particular as I think it must be) will in a little time enable the weaver of Manchester to grapple with public questions in a manner at present little dreamt of at the West-end of London. There is a mighty social revolution going on in England with respect to education.

In any case, moreover, so long as maladministration in India may cause the weaver of Manchester and the artisan of Birmingham to be dragged from bench or loom to the poor work of war, which both alike detest—so long as maladministration in India may mean such utter wretchedness as I, for one, saw in Manchester, Preston, and elsewhere during the American War,—I do not say merely that it were in vain to talk of ignoring the discussions of Indian affairs in popular meetings, but also that such discussions are as reasonable, legitimate, and in every sense proper, as discussions with reference to the State Church, or to the foreign policy of Government in relation to the affairs of Europe, or to the "liquor traffic," or to the principles of taxation, or to any other subject whatever.

If we are possessed of the patriotic spirit, our aim will be to interest the whole nation intelligently in every question by which the general well-being can be affected. No greater affront could well be offered to any honest man than to tell him that he cannot understand, and ought not to meddle with, a policy which may in a year wreck his home and destroy all his prospects in life, if indeed life itself is left.

Resting on this ground alone, and putting aside the fact that the meetings addressed by Mr. Bright in large towns always comprise some of the most intelligent men in the kingdom, we may at least admit that popular interference in the government of India is reasonable, and if we look farther we may see that it is inevitable. We may settle it in our minds that men will not remain silent where their interests are so tremendously involved. Newspapers are influenced by private interests and private friendships and enmities. What are termed "the Services" in India are a mass of individual interests, which are affected by every wind that blows. What, then, can we fall back upon for the Imperial interests—for the higher duty? What if not upon the nation—the popular life in which England still is invincible? It was not classes or services representing the nation that Lord Macaulay had in his mind when he said of the effigy of Chatham, that it still "with eagle eye and "outstretched arm bids England be of good cheer and hurl defiance to "her foes."

I have heard people ask, with a very proper and honourable sense of individual rights, but with some forgetfulness of the rights of the nation—"When honourable Englishmen—Viceroy, Lieutenant-Governors, "District Officers—are sent abroad, cannot you trust them both as to "their political and other action and to their control of young "officers?" The courteous and right answer seems to be, "We would "trust them as far as we would ourselves ask or expect to be trusted." There is a limit to all trust, and by making the limit general you divest it of personal insult. There is no greater injustice to Lord Lytton or Sir John Strachey in checking his policy than there is injustice to a cashier, in business matters, in auditing his books. Large masses of people, rightly or wrongly, have of late assembled to challenge or support Lord Beaconsfield's policy as to the war in Europe. I firmly believe that not one-twentieth part of those masses have comprehended the remote interests affected; but they have had so very clear a conviction as to the objects for which alone they would fight, that no Government could safely have declared war until some well-understood line of danger had been reached, or could have preserved peace if that line had been crossed. In fact, few persons dispute that the principle of English political life with respect to English affairs is not blind con-

fidence, but healthy criticism. It is only when we come to Indian affairs that the contrary is maintained; and the position in that case is always untenable, and is sometimes ridiculous. No man, however noble, can be safely trusted with unrestrained power. King David, with an utterly vile object, ordered Uriah the Hittite to be placed in the forefront of battle, and slain; yet King David is commended to us as one who led his people like a shepherd, and governed them prudently with all his power.

England does not, nor ever did, trust Whigs, Tories or Radicals, Catholics or Protestants, High Church or Low Church, Congregationalists or Quakers, with irresponsible power. Among sovereigns, we have for 1,000 years never produced another king like Alfred. Cromwell, indeed, welded the nation into a power invincible in war; but the rule of Cromwell fell, not because it was not just and righteous, but because it was not founded on the popular will. A wrangling Parliament might have caused extreme danger; in destroying the liberty of Parliament there was ruin. The pride of a courtezan has before now carried two great nations into war. The same may be said of the whim of an Indian Viceroy. Questions of the first importance to nations have taken this or that direction accordingly as a king or a statesman had or had not dined when the decision was made. The wholesome principle of English political life, therefore, is sleepless watchfulness. And what is true of England must be true of India. If any members of the Civil Service or officers of the Army are not satisfied with this, they ought to return home and enter the Church, wherein alone, of all places under the direct rule of the Queen, legitimate authority can with impunity be defied. The Services in India have immense privileges and power, but the nation will not suffer itself to be carried into danger against its will, and, we may well and sincerely hope, will not suffer the high trust which it believes it holds in India to be abused to the injury of the people.

I venture to assume, then, that Mr. Bright represents (only with intellectual pre-eminence) the popular feeling which he has done so much to create in Manchester and elsewhere as to India, and that Sir James Stephen, in these letters, represents (only also with intellectual pre-eminence) the lower opinion of Indian official life—the prejudices which repel an unofficial Englishman wherever the rampant spirits of ambition and conquest are abroad in any assembly, large or small, in India. One of the passages to which I refer in saying this is in the second of the two letters, and runs thus:—

Mr. Bright's view is that our power is founded on "ambition, crime, and "conquest," which, I take it, means that ambition and conquest are crimes. . . .

I feel . . . that we, the English nation, can hardly degrade ourselves more deeply than by repudiating the achievements of our ancestors, apologizing for acts of which we ought to feel proud . . . and evading the arduous responsibilities which have devolved upon us. I say, let us acknowledge them with pride. Let us grapple with them like men. That will enable our sons to praise us for something more manly than reviling our fathers. Let them praise us, not for atoning for the misdeeds, but for following the examples of Clive and Hastings, and the two Wellesleys, and Dalhousie and Canning, and Henry Lawrence and Havelock, and others. . . . I deny that ambition and conquest are crimes; I say that ambition is the great incentive to every manly virtue, and that conquest is the process by which every great State in the world (the United States not excepted) has been built up. North America would be a hunting-ground for savages if the Puritans had not carried guns as well as Bibles, and the United States would be a memory of the past if the North, thirteen years ago, had not conquered the South.

Is this the gospel that young and inexperienced Englishmen are to receive from distinguished Englishmen of wide experience, and carry to India as the true rule of Anglo-Indian life? I submit to you that in the words I have read there lie certain great and dangerous fallacies which it behoves us to strip away from the consideration of Indian affairs. I object to the words, first, because if we are not actually invited to make our admiration of Clive to include admiration of all that Clive did, we are at least enjoined to be silent as to Clive's errors or faults. This, surely, is not to learn and use history. Ambition, even when it leads to conquest, is not necessarily an evil propensity; but ambition, with or without conquest, may be a very evil propensity, tending to crime. What a young Englishman has before him with respect to a right conception of his duty to India is to make up his mind, exactly and conclusively, on just principles, wherein Clive was right and wherein he was wrong. To exhibit to those who come after us the unhappy spectacle of men seeking to obtain praise by following the examples rather than by atoning for the misdeeds of Clive and others of our great forefathers, would be the poorest of all patriotism, springing from the poorest of all ambition.

Mr. Bright, we may observe, does not condemn ambition in itself,—his co-religionist, William Penn, was ambitious; he simply condemns the ambition to shed blood and cause the misery—the terrible misery and demoralization—that follow in the wake of war. He can only be in error when he does not—if he does not—distinguish between just and unjust war. I can understand, perhaps in opposition to Mr. Bright, how a stern and resolute soldier may not merely be a sincere, but also a very gentle Christian—India has had many such, and has such still—but I cannot imagine such a man wishing for war, or glorying in bloodshed. Our true heroes in India ever were, and still are, the very last men to

wish for war, though they were and are ready to accept in war, and that in a simply loyal sense, the old English idea of duty. Clive, Warren Hastings, the Marquis Wellesley, and Lord Dalhousie, among others, claimed at least to be approved by their countrymen and by history, not because of the ambition they had displayed and the territories they had won, but because when certain duties were forced upon them by men and circumstances they were able, with the strength of an imperial race, to perform with firm hearts and intelligent will what England needed.

When, therefore, Sir James Stephen says, "I deny that ambition "and conquest are crimes," he denies what nobody, as far as I know, ever asserted. Ambition and conquest are or are not crimes, according to the object sought to be attained, and the uprightness of the men concerned. There is lawful ambition, and there is ambition against all law. There have been deeds done in India, by Englishmen, which England in her true heart never did and never will defend—deeds of treachery, cruelty, and oppression. Are we slandering the great Englishmen of India when we refuse to defend those deeds? If so, there is an end to honest history. He were a poor Englishman who would not deal gently and almost lovingly with the faults of Drake, or Clive, or Wellington, or Nelson, or Neill; but if the dumb lips of our heroes could be made to speak, they would say, "Write truth, and "nothing but truth; withhold no blemish, but consider all the circum- "stances, and deal with the faults as with the faults of friends."

I maintain that history is against Sir James Stephen when he says that ambition such as that in which alone he joins issue with Mr. Bright is the great incentive to every manly virtue, and that conquest is the process by which every great State in the world has been built up. Conquest, followed by colonization, has been the process by which States have been built up, though conquest is a dangerous thing even then. Conquest, maintained as conquest purely, never built up a State since the world began. I say also that conquest, even followed by colonization of the conquered land, always failed if the idea of conquest was long and persistently perpetuated.

James I. and Charles I. rested their claims to sovereignty on the Norman conquest—with what result we know. What was it that made Greece great? The conquests of Alexander? No; the public and private virtue—the grand manhood—which Alexander exhausted in his conquests, and left derelict, as a prey to another and a mightier manhood, then healthy and strong, but destined also to fall by means of the same ambition and conquest. Did Spain rise by her conquests? No; she rose by her sturdy enterprise, and fell by her conquests. What was it to which the glories of Louis XIV. led? To a state of society ending

in the earthquake of 1789. To what did the conquests of Napoleon lead? To St. Helena, and by a thin line, like an unbroken electric wire, which history cannot lose, to the collapse of the Second Empire. The conquests of America, on the contrary, have been in the main like those of science. If they have not been in all cases fair and justifiable, they have been so to such an extent as to challenge comparison. I am not praising America in saying this. It was the circumstances that were exceptional, not altogether the men. But to talk of America as a State partly built up by conquest, is a strange doctrine, hardly coming within the domain of reasoning. We are making history—solemn, long-enduring history: it will be at our peril that we neglect to make it on new principles in much, while we righteously preserve all that is at once old and good.

Supposing, though, that ambition and conquest of a certain kind have been the means of building up States: are we building up States in India, or are we merely pushing off the inevitable day when our conquests must end as other conquests ended? In this lies the point of the argument. I think Mr. Bright's plan of breaking up India into parts is impracticable, and unworthy of consideration in itself, apart from the fact that it is Mr. Bright's. I think Sir James Stephen has demolished it as a plan. But the fact remains that Mr. Bright is ambitious to build up States, while Sir James Stephen falls back on the principle of simply holding what we have, and securing to the people just laws and able administration. Even if we decide that this is safe ground (which I dispute), let us, at least, accustom the people of India to believe, and find hope in the belief, that we perceive the true causes of the rise of British power in India; that we believe, at least, that in times of anarchy and weakness we appeared with strength, which enforced peace; that in times of falseness we brought something like personal truth and honour as between man and man, even when our general policy was crooked; that circumstances led to some of our conquests, and selfishness and crime to others; but, lastly, that after we have given all the weight we can to our faults, and to the remote causes of the rise of British power in India, we do not see that it is our duty to go backward in history—do not see, in fact, that we would be other than craven and unworthy Englishmen if we receded from the position which we may, if we please, make a grand one both to India and England.

Every Anglo-Indian knows to what extent we depend on the British Army, and on our organizing power in India; but I never met an intelligent Anglo-Indian, military man or civilian, of ripe experience, who did not wish to push the ideas of ambition and conquest to the background—who did not desire to rule by the strength of wise, far-

reaching statesmanship. It is true we are in India by the strength of an indomitable will ; but we know also, if we are not utterly blind, that we must see farther and clearer as the years go on, or we shall meet with the fate of all conquerors' who failed to find the deeper bond of union. That we may find that bond, we shall naturally look first to the great Services in India ; but we must look also beyond them, noble and generous as many of the men are, to the greater life of England—to the House of Commons, and to the great towns. Clive and Hastings never would have laid the foundations of such an empire if Fox and Burke had not insisted, in the name of England and humanity, that it should be made to rest on justice, and that wrong-doing should be curbed. Fox and Burke, too, are among the master builders of the British Empire in India ; and the young Englishman who goes to India, from Oxford or Cambridge or where he may, with any other conception of history goes with a huge fallacy in the place of a fact.

If we tell India that the history of the East India Company is a history of laudable ambition and conquest, we shall have the intelligent people against us to a man. We shall have an enemy in every man who can read ; and we shall deserve the hatred we shall create, for we shall take away the last hope of the people that we have something better to offer them than race pride, and that theatrical ranting which is the result of race pride, and which, wherever it appears, assists to make Englishmen disagreeable to the men of other lands, and to lower the national character.

I deny, however, the virtual position of Mr. Bright, that our history in India is a discreditable one, taking it as a whole. That it is resplendent with deeds of heroism few persons will dispute ; but it is also, as I have incidentally said, a history of great self-restraint—such, perhaps, as few nations could have equalled. I had occasion lately to read a vast number of official replies to a pointed official question of long bygone times, as to the employment of Natives of India by the Government, and there was in many of the replies a sense of justice of which an Englishman might well be proud. That there was a certain looseness of morality in the Company's time is undoubted ; but I question that there was half as much immorality as there would have been if France had been the ruling power in India ; and I think it is to the enduring honour of the great old Company that it steadily refused to ally itself with the missionary societies—to hold out a premium for conversions to Christianity. I have heard this referred to as derogatory to the Company. I heard Mr. Seward so refer to it, and that in very emphatic terms, during his visit to India, and I took the liberty of telling him that he was speaking from some one-sided history. The missionary

societies have a noble history, but it is no more a history of uniform brightness and self-denial than that of the Company; and assuredly there are in the list of the servants of the Company many names as high as the best in the records of the missionary societies; names representing men who rose above selfishness, and did their duty to India, as well as to England, with a beautiful modesty, and, so far as their own merits were concerned, an unbroken silence. Clive, looking upon his own career critically, was astonished at his moderation. He had seen and curbed so much vileness in his own countrymen and others, and possibly had even stifled in his own breast the temptation, which may have been stronger than we dream of, to cast away the rule of Leadenhall Street altogether and lay the foundations of a Clive dynasty—an almost certain dream of some Frenchmen with respect to French dynasties—that he may well have looked upon his return to the life of a simple English gentleman as marvellous moderation.

There never was a part of the world where men's motives and character were more misrepresented than they have been in India; and there is something very fine in the towering stature and deportment, the magnificent self-confidence, of men like the Marquis Wellesley, in the face of designs as gigantic as those of Napoleon, and surrounded by intrigues thick enough to darken the air. I reject, therefore, Mr. Bright's views of the history of India, but I do not reject his moral determination to check, by the power of Parliament and of the nation, the designs of selfish men. If Mr. Bright and the nation could have fully comprehended the real nature of the confiscations following the annexation of Oude (not to go farther), I believe history would have had some bright pages where much is now dark and discreditable. If men like Sir Henry Lawrence could have brought themselves to lay bare to the public eye some cases of oppression which wrung their own great hearts—almost to agony, and there had been the same power of popular opinion even twenty years ago that there is now, I am sure that some high-handed deeds never would have been registered against us as a people.

We are bound also to look to Parliament and the great towns, that the poor people of India may be cared for. I would not say a word reflecting on the body of young officers sent out by England to India; but at least they are human and liable to error, and their education and training are not exactly of the kind to which one would look for those qualities which shone so brightly in men like John Howard and John Pounds, the shoemaker—that care for the weak and poor, that sympathy for the helpless and suffering. Yet never was there a people by whom

these qualities were more needed than they are now needed by the poor people of India.

Sir James Stephen quotes Bishop Milman to the effect that the district officers are, upon the whole, the very best men the Bishop ever knew in his life—very high praise indeed, considering that Bishop Milman knew even more intimately a body of men called the clergy. The opinion, however, seems to have about the same meaning that attaches to such expressions as, “it is the finest army,” or “the finest “regiment,” or “the very best school I ever saw;” that is, it was intended to convey a correct general impression suited to common conversation, but is not, any more than Mr. Bright’s denunciations, to be adduced, still less to carry weight, as an authoritative statement. There is nothing more remarkable in India than the facility with which little reputations and powers are made to seem great, while really great reputations are of very slow growth—the slowness, perhaps, in proportion to the durability. The district officers, like the clergy, are a body of average Englishmen, good and bad, selfish and unselfish, wise and foolish—in some cases great, in some little men, with certain advantages of education, with a vast scope for doing either good or harm, but with one clear disadvantage in the fact that they never, as a rule, have learned the solemn lessons of poverty and distress, and, indeed, never have known what it is to depend on their own efforts for their daily bread. We require for the well-being of India an influence such as that spirit which the poor of different parts of the United Kingdom have imbibed from the poems of Burns, and Ebenezer Elliot, and Edwin Waugh, not to speak of the sad lessons of daily life,—a spirit so just and tender, so gentle and manly, that wherever it exists there is at once protection for the helpless and relief for the suffering.

Nor can we easily forget that the Services in India are in some cases so powerful that even a Cabinet Minister could not with impunity touch their rights and privileges. I, for one, rejoice that this is so. I could not imagine any lot harder than that of a man sent out to India and left to the tender mercies of, perhaps, oppressive official superiors, or to the caprice of party government. The district officers themselves require the safeguard of popular opinion, and would not very readily, I think, discard that safeguard. But this is simply half of the question. There must be a power on the side of the people of India; and when Parliament is answered with official platitudes, and the Press is dumb in the face of great interests, there is a sure and certain appeal, if it can be fairly reached, in those popular assemblies which, in a just cause, are irresistible.

Few persons will doubt, I think, that one of the dangers to be faced in India is that arising from the ignorance of very many Indian officers as to the deeper feelings of England. To be just to India, the lessons of the free life of England must have been learnt. I never heard without a shudder the conventional nonsense about the picture galleries and theatres of London, Paris, and elsewhere, and the almost ostentatiously paraded ignorance as to what may be found in the East-ends of English great towns. An officer who goes to India fancying that he knows England because he knows Oxford or Cambridge and the West-end of London, and who supposes that public opinion is formed by the Reform and the Carlton Clubs, and in the West-end drawing-rooms, is in a bad plight for entering upon such duties. I once heard a young officer, who knew all about the Greeks and Romans, assure a Native meeting, which had disputed his view, that the rule in English meetings when an amendment is proposed is to put the motion first and then the amendment. He had his way, too, though to the intense amusement of some well-educated Native gentlemen present. I have heard many Anglo-Indian officers put such facts as these in much stronger terms than I can put them.

I say, then, that popular interference in the government of India is reasonable, necessary, and inevitable: (1) Because, if danger is incurred by an unwise policy in India, England has to pay the penalty in treasure and lives. (2) Because there is no other effectual security against wrong-doing on the part of English officials. (3) Because without that interference the officers themselves would not merely be liable to suffer injustice, but would be misled as to what in the last appeal England would insist upon. Warren Hastings would have escaped many errors if he had foreseen how weak all the special pleading of the future Lord Ellenborough would be before the avenging power of Burke, wielding the popular justice of the English nation. (4) Because it is of the first importance to know that England, if pushed to an extremity, would defend India to the last trench—a fact we never can be certain of save in the one way of these public expressions of opinion. (5) Because an expression of opinion in a public meeting is far less dangerous, as a rule, than an assertion of public opinion in a newspaper article; and, as the newspaper article would certainly appear, though its effect were to break up the foundations of the Empire, the expressions of public meetings are in reality a safety-valve. I could at this moment point to two newspaper articles (in two different influential journals) in which the Princes of India were referred to in terms more dangerous to good government and to the generous loyalty which Lord Mayo, to my knowledge, certainly evoked than anything I ever heard or read in the proceedings of

any public meeting. Men write what they never would dare to speak right out in the face of other men. I do not mean would not dare in the sense of cowardice, but that persons are restrained by their sense of self-respect from saying in a meeting of other men what the temptation to "loud-talk" leads them to say in writing.

Then, is it not the duty of every one who wishes to see the rule of England in India established for ages to come at once in material strength and in righteousness, to strive to induce England to take a real and living interest in Indian affairs? It were a glorious ambition in any man, high or obscure. If we judged by appearances—by the attendance of members of the House of Commons on Indian debate nights, and by much besides—we might say that no nation, in ancient or modern times, ever took so little interest in a great dependency as England takes in India. I believe, however, that the appearance is to some extent fallacious, and that where the appearance and the reality accord, the cause is partly in the annoying manner in which Anglo-Indians deal with Indian questions. Cases are ever occurring in which we are advised not to "meddle," but to leave the whole question to good and true men who know the country and the circumstances of the case as perfectly as Englishmen know the working of a Board of Guardians. This is not the way to induce a national interest in India. For great action a spirit of confidence is required. Hannibal, it has been said (by a figure of speech), knew every man in his strangely-varied army; and what an irresistible enthusiasm he carried into Italy! The same might (by a like figure of speech) be affirmed of Napoleon; and how his men were inspired when he pointed them to the Pyramids, and reminded them that thirty centuries were looking down on them and their doings! The same may be said of some English heroes on sea and land, in India and elsewhere. But the confidence that exists in some cases of commanders and men never extends to the relations of official life and to the nation. Every subject is closed by the baneful and, we may yet find, suicidal policy of discountenancing discussion on Indian affairs.

If a man asks a public meeting to decide where this or that system of irrigation ought to be adopted, he asks something very foolish. It is very different, however, to tell a meeting that many of the old schemes of irrigation have, in English hands, fallen into disuse, and that while our general expenditure has vastly increased, our work to save life has to a very recent time been a mere name. In questions of foreign policy, again, no public meeting could, in the present state of information, follow the questions on which Lord Lawrence recently challenged the policy of Lord Lytton; but it has become necessary even now, and it will every

year become more and more necessary, that the nation should be able to decide upon the principle involved.

How is it that missionary meetings have always been so well attended in England? Mainly, I think, because the missionary tries to make his subjects simple, whereas the Indian officer tries to make them difficult; and, as if they were not sufficiently perplexing under old names, with familiar spelling, he has of late transformed the very structure of the language, so that people who wish to follow him must learn afresh how to spell Indian names, and to observe as many marks of accentuation as if they were learning a fresh new mother tongue.

It may seem presumptuous, but I cannot help saying that, instead of discountenancing popular inquiry into Indian affairs, the Secretary of State for India would do a work that would redound to his honour for many future ages if he put an end, at once and for ever, to the stupid jealousy of popular interference. I would have drawn up, for schools and for adults, and on Government authority, a real—a bravely true—catechism of Indian history. I would divide the early history into brief paragraphs, showing the known or supposed origin of dynasties and races. I would have a series of small maps, not too elaborate in details, setting out clearly, (1) say, India under the earlier dynasties—(2) under, say, the Moguls; (3) showing the several European nations confronting each other before Plassey; (4) the gradual growth of the British Empire, and the re-casting of the map of India, before and after the annexation of Oude, the Punjab, Burmah, &c. I would make the history as frank, open, and breezy as some of the more famous of Prince Bismarck's declarations of policy; hiding no error of the past, covering up no feature of crooked policy, explaining away no wrong. If there are, as there are, specks on Clive's magnificent career, let them be termed specks,—there are spots on the sun. Against the faults of Warren Hastings we can set off his greatness, and the circumstances and the persons around him. We can view him as merely mortal, but as a strong mortal, certain to err even while weaving the mightiest policy and laying the foundations of empire.

Why should we not also have the name of every Prince, the extent of his territory, the amount of his income and tribute, and the resources of his dominions, set forth in clear, historical (not official) terms? Why should we not know the exact character of our frontiers, on the side of the Indus and on the side of the Brahmapootra; and how we stand related to the Passes of Nepal, very little talked of, as well as to the Passes of the North-west, to which so much attention is directed? With clear, simple maps, and a brief honest history, Indian affairs might be made so simple that a wayfaring man though a fool need not err in

any essential particular with respect to them. I would, at whatever cost, win England to a knowledge of, and a parental care for, her great dependency.

I do not hesitate now to say that I have written much of the foregoing with an uneasy feeling, not because of what you may say of my views (for I care not how sharply those views are criticised), but lest I should have written what may seem like a reflection upon any of the good and self-denying men who represent England in India. For what has been termed English Philistinism in India I care nothing. I would scorn to court its favour, and I would be ashamed to dread its enmity, though I am not insensible of its power. But there is a far nobler life among the English in India, and it is that which I dread to offend even by a word. There is also another side to the question of the interference of Parliament and of the public in Indian affairs. There is the important consideration of how that interference may at times be both injurious and unjust to Englishmen in India.

I chanced to be in Calcutta when Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen returned from his visit to England, and it would be difficult to convey an adequate impression of the extreme soreness with which many statements made at Mr. Sen's English meetings were received. "Why," people said, "they talk of us as if we were not Englishmen, but 'barbarians, capable of any crimes, and insensible to any virtue.'" Here was a case in which, without, as far as I see, any great blame resting on Mr. Sen himself, an unquestionably incorrect impression was created. It is certain also that Mr. Bright rarely speaks on Indian affairs without convincing a large number of Englishmen and Englishwomen in India that he does them cruel wrong. They believe that he looks upon them as a privileged caste, essentially despotic in politics, banded together for purely selfish interests, and ready to defend each other even to the extent of calling black white.

Now all this, though certainly true enough of some cliques, is one of the unreasoning prejudices of English popular life with respect to the character of many Anglo-Indians, and Mr. Bright is not guiltless of the charge brought against him of having by his sweeping assertions assisted to create the prejudice. If a word is spoken against Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright rises at once like a lion, and his scorn and indignation fall like molten lead on the assailants of his dead friend. He will not allow either charge or innuendo to be directed against Mr. Cobden; but he forgets, when attacking Englishmen in India, that he may be, and must be, including in his strictures men quite as pure and generous as Mr. Cobden, and, from their distance from England, almost as incapable of speaking in their own defence.

I speak under correction, but I think there is very little party, in the English sense, in India, and that the acts of the Marquis of Salisbury and of the Duke of Argyll are considered without reference to the Whiggery of the one nobleman, or the Toryism of the other. It may be but another form of selfishness, but at least it is not what English meetings are led to suppose. There is a tendency in men of deep convictions to become sterner under an Indian sun, and surrounded by the facts of Indian life. He is an exceedingly sanguine man who can suppose that the millions of persons by whom he is surrounded in India are, as a rule, favourable to Englishmen, and it is not pleasant to a free man, fresh from the freest of all nations, to feel that he is committed to a service wherein he never can hope to win the affection of more than a comparatively few persons. I have heard people say, "Let such a man "return home, or go to Australia or Canada." It is easy to talk so, easy to devise plans for other men; it is not so easy to take the action suggested. In many cases such a step would be exceedingly difficult; in some it would mean the breaking of a life's hopes; in some it would be impossible; in the comparative few in which it could be taken, there must exist either private means, or unusual opportunities for new careers, or extraordinary powers for making opportunities. However ignorant, then, an Anglo-Indian may be of English life, he is not more ignorant of it than Englishmen are of some of the conditions of Indian service. When a man retires from India under ordinary circumstances, he generally fancies that he will fit into old associations from whence he was taken, and he finds that he fits to nothing (if he ventures to quit London), unless it is a bowling-green or a news-room. If he be of a political turn, he may become an extreme Tory or an extreme Radical; but even then, as a Tory he appals his friends with what they deem perfectly revolutionary views as to land, and much besides, or as a Radical drives other Radicals wild with his notions as to strong government. He is the round man in the square hole, go where he may. These are some of the many penalties paid for the advantages of an Indian career.

Then it never seems conceivable to those who talk of men retiring from India that there is still enwoven with the nature and habits of an Englishman the idea of duty. Does Mr. Bright, when he talks of his own services to England (great services as they have been), imagine that there has been no other duty done than that on the platforms of public meetings, or in the House of Commons? The duties of Indian life are often as different as can be from those of English life, but they may be as real, as generous, and as unselfish. It may be said that Mr. Bright's strictures apply only to the lower life. It must, however, be replied,

that too much caution, then, could hardly be used to prevent the true mark from being missed. When

Robin-a-Bobbin bent his bow,
Shot at a pigeon, and killed a crow,

Robin-a-Bobbin made a bad shot; and here, as in many cases, the lesson of the nursery is not inapplicable to life. People who talk of the Natives of India—many of them true gentlemen—as “niggers,” who prate about rights of conquest, and plume themselves on the lowest pride of race, are difficult to shoot even with a shaft of irony. They are always stupid people. The persons who are wounded are of quite a different kind.

It would surprise some gentlemen who represent popular opinion in England to find that amid a vast amount of ignorance in India, and an amount of the silliest pride on the face of the earth, and the narrowest sectarianism, there exist free thought as defiant as that of Shelley, and piety as sincere as that of the old saints. For many of the most laborious contributions to literature, for some of our clearest views of history, of political economy, of the true relations of men to men and to the Almighty, we are indebted to Anglo-Indian officials. Missionaries have no sharper critics anywhere than among Englishmen in India, and assuredly some missionary speeches made in England could not be made in Calcutta without being laughed to scorn. I one day heard a district officer read in church a sermon which attracted general attention. Some days after I asked him whose sermon it was. He laughed, and said, “Now don’t tell anybody,—it was one of Father Newman’s.” This was in an English church, and the officer was a young gentleman thoroughly loyal to that Church. It is one way in which the yeast is fermenting in Anglo-Indian life.

Another difficulty in popular interference with respect to Indian affairs is the certainty that Indian questions and persons will be judged from a purely English stand-ground, which must often lead to error. To say that the difficulty cannot be overcome would be puerile. It is, however, none the less a difficulty, and it may be set off against the perverse determination of many Anglo-Indians to insist that neither popular meetings nor even Parliament can understand the affairs of India. England must understand Indian questions if India is to be retained by England, but England ought to be convinced that there are questions which cannot be correctly judged from a purely English stand-ground.

Another danger is, that popular opinion in England might lead India to demand what she cannot, under the present conditions of her relation to England, obtain. I do not think there is so much in this as some per-

sons suppose. I have heard it made to include as dangerous very proper and legitimate demands, not dangerous at all. Still, it would be easy to enumerate cases in which such opinion might really create danger; as, for instance, if the King of Burmah could appeal from the Indian Government to Manchester, and so influence the House of Commons.

It would surely also be exceedingly dangerous if England brought public opinion to bear on such questions as the exact form of our relations with Afghanistan, which only a very few Englishmen understand, and which a distinguished traveller of another nation tells us that the Indian Foreign Office, in some essential particulars, completely misunderstands. No amount of education, short of actual experience, would enable us to understand, sufficiently to form the basis of political action, the affairs of Afghanistan, Nepal, or Kashgaria. All that can be said is that we can understand the principle involved.

Another undoubted danger is, that English interests may, as in the case of the import duties, respecting which Manchester is so anxious, be made to override the interests of India. I submit that in all such cases, be the pressure brought to bear on the Government what it may, some consideration should be given to what an Indian Government would do if England and India were disunited. Would the Government in that case consider what was desirable for Manchester trade, or what was desirable to foster and build up a trade for India? Assuredly not the former, and hence it would be impolitic and unjust to stand on that ground now.

It would, again, be a terrible misfortune if the affairs of India were brought into English electioneering struggles, as they were carried into so many such struggles in the days of the East India Company. One might almost shudder to see Native India represented in the House of Commons—natural and right as such representation appears—for it is all but certain that every Native gentleman sent to England would, in spite of himself, be made the centre of a set-of selfish intrigues, a curse at once to England and to India; yet if men like the late Maharajah Romanath Tagore and the late Justice Mitter had seats in the House of Commons, the House would be vastly the richer for their presence, and the Empire vastly the more secure.

The six points on which Sir James Stephen believed that he had convicted Mr. Bright "either of great ignorance or great inaccuracy of expression," may fittingly form the text for the practical application of this paper; and all the more so because it is very important to know from gentlemen who know India so well whether it really is Mr. Bright or Sir James Stephen who is in error. For my own part, I have a

strong belief that the error is not, in the main, with Mr. Bright on any one of the six points.

1. Mr. Bright says, "We claim the ownership of all the land" in India; and Sir James Stephen replies that "this is the opposite of the truth." Now, is it the opposite of the truth? Sir Henry Maine, in his work on "Village Communities," while maintaining the original private ownership of land on the tenure of the village community, says: "The assumption which the English first made was one that they inherited from their Mahomedan predecessors. It was that all the soil belonged in absolute property to the sovereign, and that all private property in land existed on sufferance." "In the Settlement of Lord Cornwallis," this most reliable writer continues, "the attempt was to create a natural aristocracy, while in the Southern Provinces no middle class between the Government and the cultivators was recognized." In Norton's "Topics for Indian Statesmen," the ownership of the land by the State is accepted as a simple fact, and all suggestions are built thereon. Sir George Campbell recently made some like remarks as to the principle on which the land tenure rests, and stated in plain terms that the tenure which we inherited was that of the State as landlord. It is only necessary, however, to recur to Sir James Stephen's own proposal for the abrogation, under certain presumed possibilities, of the Bengal Land Settlement, to see that the settlements were made on the strength of the rights of the governing Power as landlord. Lord Cornwallis could not have given, nor could Lord Lytton reclaim, what never was the property of either as representing the State. This is clearly seen in those parts of India where there are periodical settlements.

2. Mr. Bright says the population of India "is dumb before the Power that has subjected it. It is never consulted upon any matter connected with its government." Sir James Stephen replies, that it is one of the first duties of a district officer to make himself acquainted with the views of the people, whom he is continually consulting. I could not help thinking that the people most likely to smile at this will be the district officers concerned—for they know what it means. I say that in the sense meant by Mr. Bright, and that a very wide sense, the population of India is dumb before its rulers, though by no means dumb, but often exceedingly voiceful, within itself and to itself.

3. Mr. Bright seems ignorant, Sir James Stephen suggests, that Rajpootana is not British territory; and he adds, that the Government of India can have "no more responsibility (if any one had) for a famine in Rajpootana than for the late famine in Persia." The British Government considers itself responsible for peace, for dynastic succession, for good government, in Rajpootana. It regulates, by its salutes, the status

of Princes, has a Resident, whose advice is often a command, in each Court, and it receives from each tribute. Surely, then, Mr. Bright has in no sense distorted the exact fact. When I read the virtual charge against him I instinctively turned to two of his speeches on India, made twenty years ago—just and righteous speeches—and I wondered that such a charge of ignorance could be at this date brought against him by any one of so high a character as Sir James Stephen.

4. The next "error" is as to irrigation. Mr. Bright says that little has been done, Sir James Stephen says that much has been done. The difference is as to degree, and in no way involves either ignorance or inaccuracy of expression. I think Mr. Bright, here also, is wrong in much, but where he is so I do not think that Sir James Stephen is right. Unfortunately, there can be no error as to the appalling loss of life from famine; but the direct statement admits of modification. Life has again and again been lost, and untold misery caused, where the utmost that can be said is that both might have been prevented if men could have seen as clearly before as after the event, and if there had been prompt action free from human liability to error. It is much easier to criticise than to act.

5. Mr. Bright says that we require more troops in India than we did before we had railways, &c. Sir James Stephen shows that in the year before the Mutiny we had a much greater number of Native troops than at present; but he misses Mr. Bright's point—that we require so many more British troops, and in that way admit our decreasing confidence in the people. I think there are questions with respect to the Army in India on which Mr. Bright is so very dangerously wrong that if his views were carried out there would be an end of the English Empire in India. I greatly prefer to stand with Lord Napier of Magdala and Sir Henry Norman to standing with Mr. Bright here. It is unpleasant to hear any one, however able, theorising in a case which may involve the lives of our countrymen and countrywomen, and their children. The few grave words spoken some time ago by Lord Napier of Magdala are to me more eloquent than all the words that Mr. Bright ever spoke on the Indian Army. A man in Lord Napier's position may see much that never can be put into speech, and there may be eloquence even in his silence. Yet, as a matter of fact, we do send 22,000 more men to India than we did in the year before the Mutiny, and we keep the field-guns in our own hands.

6. "Mr. Bright says of the Native newspapers, that the Government officials look into them to see if they are saying anything unpleasant to the Government, anything that indicates sedition or discontent, "but never for the purpose of being influenced by the judgment of the writers and editors." Sir James Stephen replies, that all important

articles in Native papers are translated, that they may be read by members of the Government, and that he knows numerous instances in which such articles have led to inquiry, and have influenced legislation. This point, again, is one of opinion and of degree. Mr. Bright may be wrong in the round general charge, but he is right in the general assertion that the papers are looked to almost entirely with the aim of watching for disaffection. Where is the good of disputing such a point? I believe the translations are (at all events, they were) given up, but there cannot be a doubt as to their object, or as to the object which, with or without translations, compels an Indian officer to know what is said of a seditious nature to the people, in papers which, as Sir James Stephen shows, can publish very dangerous articles. Why, in the present state of India, the officer who did not make himself acquainted with articles in the Native press calculated to disturb the peace in his district, would deserve to be dismissed from the Service, or worse. I maintain that the state of affairs in India in this respect was accurately stated by Mr. Bright, and that social pressure of a heavy kind may be made to fall on a refractory editor. Only, though the statement of Mr. Bright was the fact as far as it went, it was not the whole fact. To examine a paper for proofs of dangerous disaffection is not necessarily an injustice, and may, indeed, be a service to India.

I venture, then, to return to the position from which I started, that the popular view, as represented by Mr. Bright, and the official view, as represented by Sir James Stephen, are both dangerous, if they are not checked and restrained by a calmer, historical view, careful not to exaggerate, even for the purpose of driving home a truth in public meeting, and equally careful to suffer no interest to weigh one feather's weight against the interest of the nation and the principles of justice. We shall not rule India on any finely-drawn theories, nor would it be safe to depart rudely from the methods of governing which have succeeded upon the whole. Lay down what new principles this generation or any generation to come may, it will be difficult to send out better friends to the people of India than some Englishmen whose names and deeds are inscribed in the great history of England in India. For it is a great history—a history of high statesmanship, of unflinching heroism, of deathless renown. It is impossible to escape popular influences, and it would be disloyal to attempt to do so. Can we not seek the high honour of trying to utilize those influences, and make them a source of strength and of far greater grandeur? Can we not draw with an unfaltering hand the true line between what is right and what is wrong in the action of Englishmen in India, as well as what is right and what is wrong in popular interference with them at home? There are very

remarkable men indeed among the workmen of the great towns. I heard a highly-educated gentleman say some little time ago that, after hearing Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and a number of other of the most eloquent men of the day, he placed before any of them, for that true eloquence which never throws away a word, and which, coming from one heart, goes to every other, a Sheffield workman, a Radical. There have been of late years far too many attempts to cut off the rich from the poor. We are a hundredfold worse in that respect than our forefathers were, even as lately as when George III. was King. Every petty person whose business in life is to strut and look great, has his fling at the people who prefer to live at the East-end of a town and pay their way to "keeping up appearances" at the West-end. If this should continue, it will grow worse every year; and who can put an end to it so well as gentlemen such as the members of this Association? If we cannot, as we cannot, loathe too deeply attempts to use the popular feeling for selfish party ends, can we revere too much the principle that would make of all classes a nation? Surely that is the success which Friar Bacon must be understood to have meant when he invoked the Invisible Powers to wall England about with brass, and that is what we must aim at if we intend England to hold her own in the new conditions of warfare, and in the face of the vast advances in intelligence, so far as intelligence is to be measured by knowledge. We virtually cut India off from all but English means of civilization, and upon the whole we cannot reasonably complain that other nations have interfered very much with us in that respect. We also close to India alone, of all the possessions of the Queen, the rights of representation. We shall not, however, be permitted—events will not permit us, civilization will not permit us—to close to India the popular life of England. That will act in the future, and, I believe, still more markedly in the future than in the past, as the last great appeal of India, alike in its Princes and people, against the most powerful and dignified officers—aye, or against the united Services, if, unfortunately, they should unite for oppression and wrong. If any Englishman is ambitious to lift up the mantle that Mr. Bright, in the course of nature, must soon let fall, and would lift it with a double portion of Mr. Bright's spirit, while avoiding Mr. Bright's errors, he may find his duty in eschewing generalities and fixing upon some individual cases of injustice, with a view to pursuing them to the end. Of course no such man ever will wallow in the mire of some special advocacy such as we have seen. He will take care that no one can put him down for two farthings; or for one, in the list of sums given by persons who are ready to pay for special pleading. But this point placed beyond question, the contrast of the services rendered to England and India by

Mr. Burke and Mr. Bright carries an invaluable lesson. Mr. Bright's services have been great, and the most that can be said is that if Mr. Bright had his years to go over again, and began by religiously attempting (with respect to this one subject) Burke's mastery of detail, India would be even more his debtor. We owe him so much that it is hard to say even this, but it will be considered in history, and it implies no disrespect.

To suppose that we can rule in India by mere moral force would be simply absurd; but it would not be more absurd than to talk of ruling by right of conquest alone, with a force of 60,000 men, dominating a military empire, and in the face of military rivals ready to take advantage of every error that is made. We must find nobler principles than those of conquest, unless we would politically discard the old emblem of British rule and take as our emblem the ostrich, which is said to hide its head on the approach of danger. Let us, in the old English way, face the danger, be it what it may, and it will vanish. To talk of the greatest trust ever given to a nation is nonsense, unless we feel honestly that we are fulfilling the trust; and it is impossible to fulfil the trust, however excellent the administration of affairs, if the sympathies of the people are not secured—if the intelligent few are not convinced for the many that we are just, not merely that the English Empire may continue in India, but because to be just is to obey God's law written on every human heart in every land.

I am not saying these words as a philanthropist, but as an Englishman. I do not know any nobler ambition than to assist to level down the walls of classes in England, both with reference to India and to home affairs; but in India, unlike England, there is a body of intelligent and educated men who maintain that the walls are indispensable. The position will assuredly prove untenable in danger. Cannot we evacuate it in peace, and while the sky is unclouded? Let us in good earnest try to be just to India, laying the foundations at once of peaceful industries and freedom, and let us invoke the free life of England to an interest in the work. We may then, in sober truth (not rodomontade), defy the world, if, indeed, with such aims and acts we should not achieve the far more glorious distinction of having made the whole world our friends. If India is with us, and a source of strength to the Empire, many a dark cloud will pass away. I believe that there are good reasons why India ought to be with us, for it is certain that in numerous respects India never had better friends. I believe also that there are good reasons for believing that India may and will be with us in times of trial. There is, however, another side to the shield; a side the lines of which we may, as patriots, trust will be obliterated, year by year, by

justice and moderation, and other lines substituted, with the nobler destiny for England.

The CHAIRMAN having intimated that Mr. Routledge's paper was now open to any remarks which gentlemen present might feel disposed to make,

Mr. W. MARTIN said it was far from his intention to criticise the address they had just heard, or to make any speech on the general subject, but, as a matter of general information, he would like very much to know what Mr. Bright had done for India. Mr. Routledge seemed to think Mr. Bright had done services akin to those of Burke, but these did not seem to be generally known. (Oh !)

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, K.C.B., M.P., said he was rather surprised at that question—(hear, hear)—for any one who would fairly consider what Mr. Bright had done in relation to India through his long Parliamentary career, and especially in the earlier portion of it, could hardly fail to arrive at the conclusion that Mr. Routledge's comparison of the Indian services of the hon. member for Birmingham with those of Edmund Burke was not only permissible, but perfectly justifiable and natural in view of the facts. (Hear, hear.) He (Sir George) spoke of Mr. Bright as one having the honour of little personal acquaintance with him, but he was not the less able to recognize the eminent value of his services to India in the days that are past; and any one who wishes to become acquainted with what he has done need only be referred to the history of the time—to the evidence of the laborious work of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1847-8 with regard to cotton in India—to the fact that in 1858-9, when the great change in the government of India was under discussion, Mr. Bright was the most prominent statesman in the House of Commons in relation to Indian affairs. And surely no one could read the magnificent speeches of the great orator in that juncture without coming to the conviction that Mr. Bright had most assuredly good claims to be placed in comparison with Edmund Burke. In both there was the same wonderful mastery of detail and felicity of expression, and the same earnestness and sustained energy. Only some few weeks ago he had occasion to refer to Burke's great speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, made in 1785, and he was reminded that to this day that oration was full of valuable reflections, and contained many just views which had yet to be adopted in India. And more than that, the views which Mr. Bright had lately expressed with regard to irrigation are almost the same as

those which Burke urged in 1785. The comparison of Bright with Burke, then, was no far-fetched or strained comparison, as seemed to be thought by the gentleman who had just sat down. (Hear, hear.) Had that gentleman read the speech of Mr. Bright in 1858 with regard to the machinery of the government in India? If not, let him turn to it, and he would find the views of a statesman who must have studied India deeply. The machinery of government which Mr. Bright then advocated is what we still require. The great object of Mr. Bright's speech was to support the division of India into governments that could be made responsible for the right administration of the affairs of the several localities, whereas the mistaken scheme actually carried out was centralization of all affairs under one head for all India. That scheme ~~had~~ been not only persisted in, but intensified, and in time we must expect to suffer for not adopting the wise and practical policy advocated by Mr. Bright of decentralization; and if the views of Mr. Bright were not adopted at that time, it is not too much to look forward with hope that they may be in the future. For the admirable address which Mr. Routledge had delivered on the machinery of Indian government, he felt they were all much indebted to him. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Routledge had fairly viewed the present situation of affairs, and had fully recognized the real desire of England to govern India wisely and well, and his criticisms to attain that end were of high value. Many of the points he had raised could be enlarged upon and extended by the author to the great public advantage, and to the benefit not only of the people of India, but those engaged in the government of that country. In weighing the merits of the dispute as between Mr. Bright and Sir James Stephen, it is no doubt a great disadvantage to the former that he has never seen India, and has no experience personally of Native life and character beyond what is obtainable from books. Nevertheless his aptitude and large mind has made his information marvellous as compared with that one-sided kind of information which could only have been collected from the restricted points of view enjoyed by Sir James Stephen. He was far from desiring that it should be thought that he was disparaging Sir James Stephen, because he would be one of the first to admit that he is one of the most talented and distinguished of the men who have served India in recent times; but he would appeal to any fairly informed arbiter to say with which of the two men the truth as to good government would most probably rest. And even apart from the comparison of mere rote information and reasoning, it is proper to say that Sir James Stephen's opinions are inevitably coloured by the special and peculiar views which he has taken up with regard to popular English interference with the affairs

of Government in India. On this he would only say that he could by no means concede that the government of India should be absolutely consigned to a body of Calcutta officials who should exercise power without control from home. On the contrary, he strongly believed that England having conquered the country, could not, in justice to her mission, leave her officials uncontrolled, could not vacate her position as ultimate master, without forsaking her manifest duty. (Hear, hear.) He did not mean to imply by this that he thought the Government of India was a bad Government, whose every act should be regarded with suspicion; far from that. It would be impossible for us to have maintained our power in India if we had not, on the whole, given good government. (Hear, hear.) It may be said in objection to this statement that we have an army to back us up and to maintain our rule. But what was the strength of that army? It was composed of some 60,000 Europeans and 120,000 Natives. With this we—an alien nation—control a vast Empire of 250,000,000 of people. But if the circumstances required us to garrison India as we garrison Ireland, we should require not 60,000 Europeans, but at least 500,000 men. (Hear, hear.) One of the advantages and proofs of good government, then, was that it cost us less for an army, while it made the myriads content with our domination. It may be a fact that in the past we have done many acts not easy to defend, but as a whole no fair mind could doubt that the wish and endeavour of the English people was to give good and just government to the Empire in India; and the people of India were every day becoming more conscious of the benefit of our rule. Time would not permit him to enlarge upon more of the valuable suggestions which had been thrown out by Mr. Routledge to improve the machinery of good government in India, but he would remark that the writer had justly brought into prominent relief the important and beneficial effect, even to the best organized corps of officials, of the support and supervision of popular judgment at home. Indeed, one of the most effectual modes of encouraging officials in the right performance of their duties in India was to make them feel the healthy action of home criticisms. This action is most essential; for many gentlemen present at the meeting who had served in India would know very well how much has been done by the wise and independent action of individual officers, and how little has really been done by the Government of India itself—(hear, hear)—and how great has been the influence of individual officers in furthering justice and right-doing, despite the Government. (Hear, hear.) And it is a proud feature of the history of the English in India that individual officers have again and again stood stoutly up in defence of the rights and

privileges of the people of India, even to their individual disadvantage. (Hear, hear.) On the point raised by Mr. Routledge regarding the ignorance of Indian affairs which is prevalent at home, it must be admitted to be too well founded; but those who desire that it shall be otherwise know how exceedingly difficult it is to post themselves on the subject, and how difficult it is to get information and evidence regarding it. Even at this moment he was studying the Salt Question of India upon papers which had only just been obtained on his motion in the House of Commons, although some of the documents themselves had been in existence for years. Yet these papers contained information on a subject of vital importance to the people of India, the salt taxation being notoriously the burden which most deeply affects the poorest. Any one knowing how much the increase of those duties would adversely affect the health and happiness of the people under our rule, would readily perceive the importance of the evidence in those papers, and the light they throw on the means of securing the good feeling and the gratitude of the people. He merely mentioned these papers not with the intention of enlarging upon the facts which they contain, but to illustrate how difficult it is for all parties interested in India to secure sound and early information regarding points vitally concerning the good government of India. Some years ago, too, Mr. Bright justly remarked on the fact that Indian papers, when they were presented, were presented in such a way, and so long after the events, as to discourage rather than invite inquiry. Correspondence and minutes and evidence and reports are all mixed up in such a chaotic way as to make it laborious to gain information from them, and too often it is impossible to master them, and too late to use the materials. What was true when Mr. Bright spoke is true now. The papers, for instance, regarding the recent Famine are in such a state as Mr. Bright formerly described. Without order or index, very incomplete, and documents of great importance left out, they form such a portentous and undigested mass of documents, important and trivial, that the causes of the ignorance of which Sir James Stephen complains are surely not far to seek. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, Sir George Balfour expressed a hope that Mr. Routledge would find leisure to expand some of the considerations upon which he had briefly touched in his valuable address, which could not fail to be of advantage to those who, like himself, were interested in the good government of India, and in making the people of England acquainted with its operations.

Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT said it was not his intention to trespass upon the attention and time of the meeting by making a speech,

but Sir George Balfour having mentioned the speech of Edmund Burke on the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot, he would beg permission to quote two pregnant sentences from that speech, which were as true now as in 1785. After alluding to the notion that the House of Commons should interfere as little as possible with Indian affairs, Burke goes on to say : " But let us do what we please to put India from our " thoughts, we can do nothing to separate it from our public interest " and our national reputation. Our attempt to banish this unfortunate " duty will only make it return upon us again and again, and every " time in a shape more unpleasant than the former." How very true was all this at the present moment ! When India comes back to us it comes with a mutiny or a famine ; and it will continue to do so until the House of Commons really takes up the question. (Hear, hear.) He had been reading a speech made by Sir David Wedderburn in Bombay on the way in which representation for India could be secured in the House of Commons, and the suggestion he makes seems worthy of consideration. He proposes, not that members should be sent from India, but delegates ; and if these delegates gave nothing else but their presence, they would at least remind the House of Commons of the existence of India—a fact apparently forgotten frequently—and they would be entitled to speak for India in the debates, and to secure some hearing, at any rate, for the wants and grievances of the people. The address of Mr. Routledge was so full of valuable and suggestive matter that it would be presumptuous to attempt to deal with it in the brief space at command ; he would therefore only take the opportunity of expressing his entire concurrence in deplored the unfortunate attempt to stamp out popular English interference in Indian affairs which had been made by Sir James Stephen, and to say that Mr. Routledge's remarks on that point were extremely cogent and valuable.

Dr. RALPH MOORE said he had listened with great interest to the excellent paper which Mr. Routledge had read to the meeting. He spoke with some forty years' experience of India, and with respect to the question between Mr. Bright and Sir James Stephen, it was his opinion that the latter gentleman's knowledge of India was decidedly less than that of the former. He had had the honour of Mr. Bright's acquaintance for many years, and could testify that he (Mr. Bright) had never failed to avail himself of every opportunity of obtaining accurate and reliable information on all matters connected with India. He is consequently well known to the Natives of India, and highly respected by them throughout their country. In his opinion English lawyers knew

less of India than any other class. (Hear, hear.) They were confined to the Presidency towns, were busy with their briefs, and getting as many fees as they could in order to return to England as soon as possible ; thus they knew little of India, and, indeed, with all his experience, he had known only one lawyer who had learned more of the language than to be able to call for his dinner, or something of the kind. (Laughter.)

General CAVENAGH observed that there was not an Indian official but recognized the necessity for Parliament taking more interest in Indian affairs, but doubts might fairly be entertained as to the advantages that would arise from discussions at public meetings ; for, unfortunately, it was apparent that public meetings were too often swayed by the consideration of special and selfish interests, and it was to be feared that they would pay too much regard to the interests of England, to the prejudice of the interests of India. Not that the real interests of the two countries were actually dissimilar or opposed, although they might appear so on the surface. Every one who had served in an official capacity in India must feel that there is an identity of interests which cannot be lost sight of. Some people were ready to say that if England lost India, it would be as great a nation as ever. (No.) But no one who had studied the subject, and certainly no statesman, would concur in that opinion. (Hear, hear.) In England, however, this feeling obtained considerable currency, and to such an extent that justice was not done to Indian officials. Having held for a long period perhaps one of the highest offices in India, as well as having served for many years as a subaltern, he knew some of the difficulties with which English officers had to contend. As a subaltern he had mixed much with the people, and when out shooting had the opportunity of learning the real feelings of the Natives towards the English. They never hesitated to tell him that they had no affection for the Englishman, but they confessed to a great respect for him as the best ruler they had ever had. In speaking of high Civil servants, they complained of the difficulty of approaching them owing to the obstacles placed in the way by their *entourage*. That was one difficulty, and another was that where a Civil servant holding high office endeavoured to cultivate acquaintance with the leading Natives, the latter often led the people to believe that they exercised an undue influence over the official. He believed that, as a rule, the officials went out to India with a just and honest ambition—an ambition to do good to the people over whom they were placed; and no more laudable motive could actuate a public servant. That was a kind of ambition that should be fostered and encouraged ; and if an Indian official felt that his services were

recognized by his countrymen in England, it would do much to aid him in his efforts, and sustain him in his arduous career. After spending thirty or forty years of the best days of their lives in India in trying to do good to its people, officials returned to England only to find themselves, as pointed out by the lecturer, nonentities. They are too old to enter into political life, and have, as the result of the sacrifice of a lifetime, in many instances merely obtained a bare competence. Mr. Routledge said they had never to strive with the question of pence; and he admitted that they were fairly paid, and consequently enabled to devote their energies to the good of the country. But it would be a great stimulus to officers in India to feel that their services were recognized by their countrymen at home; and this could only be obtained by greater interest being shown in the work of Indian government by the House of Commons and the people of England,—not by entering into details, but by striving for the advancement of great general principles, and proving to the people of India that their fellow-subjects in England—for they were all fellow-subjects—were exerting themselves in their behalf, in the belief that whatever benefited India was, in the truest sense, to benefit England. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel RATHBORNE thought that under the old East India Company Indian questions were dealt with more effectually than under present arrangements. The Court of Proprietors—of which he was one of the last members—was accustomed to meet at stated times, and Indian questions were then dealt with so ably and fully by those interested in the country and having a knowledge of its requirements, that the results were far more satisfactory than they were at the present time. It was urged in favour of the alteration that Indian questions would be better discussed, and the Natives of India better represented, by transferring the control to the great council of the nation—the House of Commons. He, however, failed to see the benefit that had been expected. If the House of Commons would devote twenty nights in the session, instead of four, to Indian matters, there might then be some improvement. For some reason or other, both political parties, however, had decided that Indian subjects should not be made party questions, and thus the whole of the benefit arising from party criticism was lost to the people of India. If English interests were treated similarly, what would be the position of the people of England? What that position would be could best be imagined, and yet that position was considered good enough for the people of India. As was remarked by a well-known authority, the worst government it was possible to conceive was that where the legislative and executive functions were united in the same hands, as in the

first place they make what laws they like, and in the next place they carry them out without consulting the people in the matter. In India the officials make the laws and send them over to England for the Secretary of State to sanction; and Indian questions not being made party questions, wrong often was done without any one stepping forward to attempt to put the matter right, as would be the case otherwise. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOHN JONES observed that Parliament was quite unequal to the task of making itself acquainted with the necessities of India, for a member of the House of Commons had quite enough, and more than enough, to do to make himself familiar with the questions affecting the home country; and he even ventured to think that a large number of measures passed through Parliament had not been looked at by one-half of the members. Legislation was, therefore, often imposed on the people of England by those who knew little about their interests, and a few of the representatives in the House of Commons did the hard work. How, then, under such circumstances was it possible, when the work of India required a special study, that it could be properly done in the British House of Commons? The absence of the knowledge of India accounted for the listlessness which prevailed when Indian subjects were discussed in Parliament, and for the manner in which such subjects were neglected. Often the papers recorded that the House was deserted. And rightly so, too, he (the speaker) thought, for, he asked, what was the use of people listening when they knew nothing of the merits of the case? He had heard it said that Mr. Bright had done great service to India, but he thought that the hon. gentleman had done great injury to India in assisting to destroy what he regarded as the Parliamentary representation of India; he alluded to the old East India Company, which was composed of people who did know something of the necessities of India. In the days of its existence, if a man knew the merits of the case, he was able to apply them in the presence of those who were responsible for the good government of India; and that system, he (Mr. Jones) thought, was one that should be reverted to. Mr. Bright assisted in the destruction of that old East India Company, and now he, with Manchester, desired to crush the cotton manufacture in India, in order that Manchester should hold the monopoly.

Rev. JAMES LONG: But Mr. Bright is not responsible for that; he has denounced the attempt in very strong language.

Mr. JOHN JONES, resuming, went on to speak of the desirability

of creating and stimulating interest on Indian matters, Parliament being, in his opinion, incapable of considering them properly. If they could assemble a body of men to discuss an Indian question, the chances were greatly in favour of their learning something about the subject, and as they were volunteers, the presumption was that some intellectual activity would be promoted, and the popular instincts of English society would govern the conclusions. Thus a popular influence might be brought to bear; but there would be a danger if the idea was carried out without passing through the sieve of Indian experts. It was not merely necessary to govern a people abstractedly rightly because their notion of right may not be the same as your own, and therefore it was essential to seek to govern somewhat according to the notions of right held by the governed; else there would be no contentment, however right the government might be in the abstract. For this reason, mere popular government was not the proper channel for power to pass through. Reference had been made to the treatment of Anglo-Indians in England. He had no doubt Englishmen on their return home would like to be as highly esteemed as when in the full tide of power in India, but it was inevitable that they should drop into the common ranks, and lose a little of the halo of glory they had been accustomed to. The Court of the East India Company gave opportunities to many Indian officers, but they engrossed all the power, to the exclusion of the commercial element, and fell, when for political reasons Government deserted them. Mr. John Stuart Mill told him (the speaker) that the Directors had authorized him to say that they saw their mistake in having relied on Government favour and neglected popular support, but that if they got another chance, they would give him (Mr. Jones) as hearty support as hitherto they had given obstruction.

Mr. WILLIAM MAITLAND remarked that the discussion appeared to take up in the first instance the question whether Mr. Bright was right or wrong in the Manchester speech. Without attempting to deal with the question between the hon. gentleman and Sir James Stephen, he might say that at a former meeting the same topic came up, and he entered his protest against a great deal of what Mr. Bright had said. In his opinion, it showed much ignorance of the position of things in India, as, amongst other statements, there was one that India was on the verge of bankruptcy. Any one knowing anything whatever of India practically would be aware that this was perfectly out of the question. It was a great pity Mr. Bright should have spoken as he did in this respect, and also that, while speaking of irrigation, he should have disparaged railways, as, in point of fact, railways had done

more good to India than many people would believe who were not acquainted with the truth. There was one thing as to which Mr. Bright had not been put right, and Sir James Stephen appeared to have overlooked it,—and this was that the population of India is dumb before the Power that ruled it; and is never consulted on any matter connected with its government. Colonel Rathborne, too, had complained of legislation and the work of administration being in the hands of those who made the laws. But he desired to point out that this was not quite the case. The people have some share in the government, as a matter of fact, so far as having a share in the legislation of a country can be considered as having a share in its government; and he believed that in this country Parliament was considered as having an influential part in its government. He would gladly see the proportion of "outside" members increased, and as a commencement had been made, this would probably be so. It should be known that the state of things to which Mr. Bright referred in this connection had ceased to exist, because years ago the Legislative Councils were to a considerable extent thrown open, and councillors admitted from the people.

Colonel RATHBORNE: How many?

Mr. WILLIAM MAITLAND: Every Council has four popular representatives, two being Natives and two independent Europeans. Thus the Council has four members, each of whom is entirely independent of the Government; and this he could aver to be the case, having himself been one of the members of the Council. Though he was a great admirer of Mr. Bright, he could not but say that in this particular he had made a mistake, and had said other things, too, which were calculated to be injurious to his high reputation. In conclusion, Mr. Maitland expressed the opinion that Mr. Routledge, in his paper, had to some extent spoken of a state of things pre-existing rather than what obtained at the present time; and no one, he thought, would be more pleased than Mr. Routledge to find the change. He asked that people should be more enlightened in regard to India, and this process of enlightenment was really going on, for he held in his hand no fewer than three cards of invitation to meetings, all connected with Indian questions. India was undoubtedly attracting more attention than it had ever done, and he believed that in the future this would go on increasing to such an extent as to do away entirely with what had long been the reproach of Englishmen, and attract to India that consideration which its importance in the Empire so richly deserved.

Mr. K. M. DUTT commented upon the assertion of the previous

speaker, that Mr. Bright's statement as to the people of India having no voice in the administration of the country was not strictly true, and proceeded to contend that it was virtually the fact. If because there were two Natives in each Council the government of India was to be called representative, he could only say that it was an absolute misuse of the term. What little of the representative character might be claimed in consequence was taken away by the fact that the mode of election was most faulty, and that it resulted in the nomination for the office of men who, as a rule, were simply dummies—("No" and "Yes")—and thus it was only a mere show of representation that was presented. He thought it was eminently desirable that India should be really represented in the government, but at the same time he had to confess that India had not advanced sufficiently to be given a really representative form of government. India at present is really governed from England, because the principles are here laid down, and the details left for the officials in India to work out. With regard to the interference by Parliament in the affairs of India, that was a matter which depended materially, as to its benefits, upon the manner in which it was exercised. It had its use and abuse, and the same might be said of the common necessities of life. If India was left to be governed entirely by the officials out there, without any control from the home country, no one surely could imagine that things could go on satisfactorily. Those gentlemen entrusted with the affairs of India were no doubt men of great talent, and men who were desirous of doing their duty, but human nature being fallible, it could not but be affected by the position of irresponsibility. Firstly, the climate must have some influence on their physical, and hence on their moral and intellectual qualities; and, secondly, the sense of power which ruling over some millions of people would give, would, if absolute, be most detrimental to the interests of good government. Hence it was, in his opinion, essential that there should be some control; and this was more necessary from the fact that India had not any public opinion in the least degree corresponding with what existed in England. True it had newspapers which expressed opinion upon the conduct of officials, but no one took any notice of them—(laughter)—and Government regarded them only as waste paper. All the principal measures passed by the Legislative Council are initiated in England, and this perhaps would be a greater advantage if the House of Commons could be got to take a deeper interest in Indian affairs. He (the speaker) had frequently been to the House while Indian subjects were on the tapis and found the House nearly empty, or only just enough members present to make a House, and many of them as fast asleep as if the opium, which was one

of the principal items in the Budget, had taken effect on them. (Laughter.) India was never really ruled by the British nation, because Indian questions were never brought before the constituencies, except at Manchester and Birmingham, but by a certain class of professional politicians, to whom he did not, however, refer in any sense derogatory to them. This state of things called for remedy, and he suggested that Indian subjects should be made part of the text-books of education in England, and made a subject of compulsory study, since it was in the highest degree necessary that if India was to be ruled by England, the means of forming a judgment upon what would conduce to the benefit of her 250,000,000 of people ought to be possessed by every Englishman.

Mr. GEORGE FOGGO said he would limit his remarks to one or, at most, two points in the discussion—the observations that had been made by the preceding speaker regarding the composition of the Legislative Councils, and the non-existence of public opinion in India. Now he had been a member of the Legislative Council at Bombay for three years, on the nomination of Sir Bartle Frere, and could testify that during his Governorship, and during that of his immediate successor, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, while probably the men selected were not quite such as would have been chosen by popular election—not that he (Mr. Foggo) was an advocate of popular election in India—yet they certainly were, on the whole, representative men, and he (Mr. Foggo) was unable to admit that either European or Native members deserved the name of “dummies.” For the Native members, although they might not, in all cases, distinguish themselves, yet he could remember instances, both of Hindus and Parsees, where they did distinguish themselves, and other instances in which they made a creditable appearance, sometimes taking even an independent line of action. As to the European members, he might be permitted to say that there were some at least always in the Councils who represented public opinion out of doors, and maintained an independent course. He could not agree in the statement that there was no such thing as public opinion on Indian questions even in India. Such might have been so fifteen or twenty years ago, but it was not so now, at least in the Presidency towns, as any one who had resided there could bear witness; and there were in the London newspapers frequent instances of its existence, when the questions at issue were of general public interest, taxation especially, as telegrams from India of public meetings held were continually showing. To show what public opinion had done, acting both through the Legislative Councils and through the Chambers of Commerce in India, both of which contained

Native as well as European members, he might relate three instances within his own experience, in two of which he took a prominent part. One was the Cotton Frauds Bill (*tempore* Sir S. Fitzgerald's Governorship), which, though passed by the Legislative Council after great discussion, was not suffered to become an Act, being vetoed by Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, on the representations chiefly of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. Another instance was a Quarantine Bill, which was introduced by a very able and influential member of the Bombay Government, but was so modified in Committee that the title even was changed, and instead of the Bill containing provisions almost word for word similar to the old Quarantine Act of King George IV., as it did when introduced, the Bill was transformed into a modern sanatory Act. The third instance within his (Mr. Foggo's) experience was a Time Bargain Bill, on which public opinion in Bombay was greatly excited; the opposition to the measure being led by the late Lord Sandhurst, at that time Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, and a member of Council; indeed, it was scarcely too much to say that public opinion in Bombay had almost been created by that discussion in the year 1868. These remarks, he hoped, were sufficient to show that neither the Native nor the European members of the Legislative Councils could be looked upon as "dummies," and that there was a public opinion even in India.

Mr. JAMES MOWATT remarked that Mr. Bright had been so ably defended by Sir George Balfour that what he might have felt called upon to say in that respect was rendered unnecessary. He would, however, add that Mr. Bright, so far from holding selfish views, had resisted the Manchester men in their selfishness—there was his letter to them that very week—and had always maintained the humanitarian principles of Cobden, as of the very essence of free trade and common justice. Referring to unscientific methods of taxation in India, Mr. Mowatt mentioned the adoption of such a system as that of the *octroi*, in vogue on the Continent, as an instance of them. As to Parliament being considered unable to discuss questions of Indian policy, the speaker complained of this view, and said it would be as sensible as to exclude the question of the Dardanelles and the foreign policy of the Government from debate. He was glad to note the allusions of some speakers to the sense of responsibility of the old East India Company, with all its faults. He looked upon recent appointments, both to the English Bench under the New Judicature Act, and to the Headship of the leading Law College at Cambridge, of men who had filled office in India, as an important step in the right direction, and believed that there were signs of a growing interest and desire on the part of the people of

India, as well as on the part of the people of England; to know more of each other. In this connection he could not refrain from referring to a circumstance lately reported in the newspapers, as to a Native of India (Mr. Dutt) speaking at a large public meeting of working men on the Eastern Question, and being received with great applause by the people. He took this to be an indication that Englishmen were ready to welcome their fellow-subjects from India, and to accord to them the consideration which they themselves obtain; and contended that the recognition of such a feeling as this was itself a testimony to the usefulness of public meetings, and could not fail to be of advantage to England and India in their mutual dealings. (Hear, hear.)

The Right Hon. CHAIRMAN said he had listened with great interest to the address given by Mr. Routledge, and he did not remember anything in it from which he felt called upon to express dissent. It was based upon a considerable amount of knowledge, and the writer had evidently endeavoured to hold the balance between contending views. That balance was held with no weak or uncertain hand; and it was clear that Mr. Routledge had not adopted a middle course because of any absence of strength in his convictions. The line taken was that of a man having full knowledge of the subject with which he was dealing, and strong convictions based upon a wide and impartial consideration of that subject; as a member of the East India Association, he (the Chairman) desired to express the great moral and intellectual satisfaction with which he had listened to the whole address. It had discussed first of all the questions between Mr. Bright and Sir James Stephen, and he was tempted to make a remark or two upon the extract from one of Sir James Stephen's letters. Sir James Stephen appeared to be led away; like a strong man in the heat of debate, to certain counter-propositions which were clearly not justified and not correct, as statements of facts or propositions of political morality. He (Sir James Stephen) says broadly (continued the right honourable gentleman), "I deny that ambition and conquest are crimes." Well, that is true; they are not necessarily crimes, but it depends upon the object of the ambition and the character of the conquest. He goes on: "I say that "ambition is the great incentive to every manly virtue, and that conquest "is the process by which every State in the world (the United States "not excepted) has been built up." He (the Chairman) felt disposed to give a most positive denial to these propositions; they appeared to partake too much of the tendency of the times. He had not the Eastern Question on the brain when he said this—(laughter)—but he believed that the present time was witnessing a reaction against those stricter

notions of duty which had been the characteristics of the highest Englishmen, and a return to a belief in the right of power as opposed to the notion of duty. Sir James Stephen said, "Ambition is the 'great incentive to every manly virtue';" but he (the Chairman) could only remark that in that case the number of manly virtues must be very few, and their operation very limited. Still referring to Sir James Stephen, the Chairman commented upon the statement that "North America would be a hunting-ground 'for savages if the Puritans had not carried guns as well as Bibles,'" and pointed out that North America was not peopled by conquest, but by immigration. What the immigrants conquered was the soil, and in the course of that conquest they came into collision with the aborigines, whom they dispersed. That, however, could not fairly be called conquest; and it was a palpable mistake in logic to compare the conquest of India to the peopling of North America by English emigrants. Then Sir James Stephen further said: "The United States would be a 'memory of the past if the North, thirteen years ago, had not conquered the South.'" Was that conquest? On the contrary, it was the assertion of the right to unity, a battle to prevent dissension and the disruption of that nationality, and not to be placed in the same category as mere conquest. Mr. Bright's views had by some been misrepresented and exaggerated, and he had been made to say that the history of the English in India had been nothing but a history of wrong. Well, those who thought in this way, if compelled to logically follow out their views, would have to say, "We are in a false position—an untenable one; " and all that we have to do is to prepare to make our exit from that "vast dominion at the earliest possible opportunity." He denied, however, that this was Mr. Bright's view. (Hear, hear.) It was, however, a view that might be entertained, but it could only be by a misunderstanding of historical facts. These historical facts showed that our main purpose in India was to produce good, and, largely viewed, that our rule had resulted in good. The history of the English conquest of India seemed to prove that the time had come for the domination of the races of India who were so enervated as to be incapable of self-government. (Hear, hear.) We were entitled to look back upon the way in which our rule had been extended, whatever our motives sometimes might have been, and to regard those great Providential events in history which need to be realized in all their magnitude if we would understand our relative position to the Natives of India. In looking back, our position was not that of a people ashamed of its past. That past, indeed, was not without its black pages. Crimes had been committed, and faults had been frequent, but on the whole England had had a

function to perform and a mission to fulfil, and was entitled to say—and he had no hesitation in saying it in the presence of Natives of India—that in the history of the world there is no other people which has done so much in the way of foreign conquest, and yet done it all with so much conscience and consideration, as the English people. (Hear, hear.) In view of that fact, their duty in India was not to say we are in an untenable position, and we must forthwith prepare to abandon it, as some persons who misrepresented Mr. Bright suggested. It was scarcely necessary to look to the far future, or to take the trouble to answer the question sometimes put as to when the time would come for England's hold upon India to terminate. It was better, indeed, that such an anticipation should not even exist at all, better in our dealings with India not to be actuated by fear or despair, for that would not mend our government of India. Even for the sake of the people of India, apart from any reasons of our own, we should feel that we have inherited a great and, it might be, a dangerous responsibility, which the greatness of our past and the greatness of the duties which the past had thrown upon us made it imperative for us to accept as a sacred trust. We ought to be equal to the greatness of our inheritance, and, while not forgetting the necessity for military power, we should so rule India with good government as to secure a continuance of peace, and the development of measures of progress and freedom among its vast population. Coming more directly to the question discussed in Mr. Routledge's lecture—the dangers and advantages of Parliamentary and popular interference in the government of India—the first remark that rose to his lips was that whatever the dangers or whatever the advantages, we must take facts as they are. A country like England could not hold her position in India without there being some popular opinion on the subject. It was impossible to lay down a proposition affirming that the management of Indian affairs should be left entirely to those with special knowledge. No one had propounded that theory, and it would be useless to do so. The subject being of sufficient interest, it would naturally and inevitably command a certain amount of popular attention, and that would have to be taken for what it was worth. For his own part, he considered the dangers to be almost *nil*, and the advantages, he believed, were almost infinite. He saw no danger whatever if a meeting was held in Manchester, and even, as the result of it, a wrong conclusion was arrived at upon the question of irrigation, or, indeed, any other topic. The great thing which was required was, if possible, to increase the amount of lively interest felt in the administration of India, in this country, and to promote discussion on subjects similar to that which had engaged

their attention that day. That discussion had contributed something to the elucidation of the question, and might suggest thoughts which would be advantageous; although, at the same time, he would be guilty of flattering the audience were he to say that they had arrived at the definite solution of the difficult problem dealt with. (Hear, hear.) Among the suggestions which had been made was one by Mr. Jones, who advocated a return to the days of the old East India Company. The answer was that, whether such a course would be right or wrong, it would be simply impossible. (Hear, hear.) He remembered that during the short time he was at the India Office he was much struck with what had been done in the past by the old East India Company, and he thought a great deal was lost when the old Company was dissolved. Still, there was no use in going back to the past, and the better course would be to promote a healthy criticism of Indian affairs, and to create increased attention to Indian subjects in Parliament and in the Press, or by means of such societies as the East India Association, or in some way which might yet be devised in connection with the Indian Council. It mattered little what mode was pursued, so that the end was attained. The government of India was that of a despotism—he trusted and believed an enlightened one, and, on the whole, for the benefit of the people. As a consequence, the Natives of India looked to England, and hence it was desirable to create a public opinion here. Towards this object he hoped the efforts of the East India Association would be continuously directed; for the instincts of the English people, once aroused, were such that they would not go far wrong. General Cavenagh had spoken of the fact that Englishmen go out to India, spend their lives there, and, having by their efforts helped to build up a vast dependency, come back to England to live on a pittance, with no public to receive them or recognize the value of their work. During his connection with the India Office he was much impressed with this fact, for he found upon the Council men who were barely known out of it, and yet were men who had held absolute sway over populations far exceeding that of the United Kingdom. These men who had ruled perhaps 50,000,000 of people were lost sight of in this great and busy metropolis. An endeavour had been made to insure that the valuable experience of these men should not be lost, by the establishment of the East India Association, and he would be very glad if they could find any means of extending its operations, so as to gather in a larger number of Indian officials, as a means of promoting greater interest in the affairs of India. In conclusion, the Chairman expressed his high appreciation of the address given by Mr. Routledge, and the interesting discussion which had followed it.

Mr. ROUTLEDGE then briefly replied to one or two observations of previous speakers, saying that Sir George Balfour had misunderstood his views concerning Mr. Bright; and remarking that General Cavenagh was apparently dubious as to the value of public meetings, he desired to say that his opinion was that the public meetings of late years had prevented the opinion of Manchester manufacturers unduly influencing the Indian Government; and he believed that but for the publicity given to the subject, Manchester would have gained its point.

On the motion of General CAVENAGH, seconded by Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously accorded to Mr. Routledge and the Right Hon. Chairman, and this terminated the sitting.

The Panchayat: Conciliation as a Remedy for Agrarian Disorders in India.

PAPER BY W. WEDDERBURN, Esq., B.C.S.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, ON
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1878.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, K.C.S.I., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

ON Wednesday afternoon, March 13, 1878, a meeting of the East India Association was held in the Rooms of the Association, 20, Great George Street, Westminster; the subject for consideration being "The Panchayat: Conciliation as a Remedy for Agrarian Disorders in India," introduced by Mr. W. Wedderburn, of the Bombay Civil Service.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, K.C.S.I., M.P., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following: Lord Reay, Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., Right Hon. Sir Richard and Lady Couch, Mr. Thomas B. Potter, M.P., General Sir George Malcolm, K.C.B., Sir T. Douglas Forsyth, K.C.S.I., Major-General Balmain, Colonel G. S. A. Anderson, Colonel P. Dods, Colonel P. T. French, Colonel A. B. Rathborne, Colonel Smith, Major Q. Wodehouse, Captain W. C. Palmer (Hon. Secretary of the East India Association), Dr. R. Moore, Mr. Sheikh Amiruddin, Mr. H. B. Beckett, Mr. A. H. Campbell, Mr. C. M. Campbell, Mr. J. McL. Campbell, Mr. J. Scarlett Campbell, Mr. John Christopher, Mr. V. K. Dhairyavan, Mr. K. M. Dutt, Mr. Robert H. Elliot, Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, Mr. George Foggo, Mr. P. P. Gordon, Mr. J. S. Heyman, C.E., Mr. Alfred J. Holiday, Mr. Abul Hussan Khan, Mr. James Hutton, Mr. John Jones, Mr. William H. Marling, Mr. William Martin, Mr. J. A. L. Montgomery, Mr. Newbury, Mr. C. Pandooring, Mr. J. C. Parry, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. D. T. Roberts, B.C.S., Mr. Andrew R. Scoble, Mr. John Sherer, Mr. W. Thom, Mr. J. T. Townend, Mr. H. P. St. George Tucker, Mr. Rustomjee Viccjee, Mr. J. W. Walker, B.C.S., Mr. Francis Wyllie, &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, explained that Mr. Wedderburn was a member of the Bombay Civil Service, and a man of extremely thoughtful and original views. It was, therefore, certain that what he would have to say would be well worth the attention of the

audience, and therefore he would not himself occupy attention at this part of the meeting, but would simply call upon Mr. Wedderburn to proceed with his lecture.

Mr. W. WEDDERBURN then delivered the following address :—

If the raiyat is now in a poverty-stricken condition it is not for want of good intentions on the part of the Indian Administration. Indeed for several generations of Indian statesmen it has been the special object of Government, shown both in revenue settlements and in general legislation, to make the actual cultivators prosperous and contented. As foreigners we are aware that our rule must unavoidably be distasteful to certain classes. Those for example who claim the privileges of an aristocracy have lost much of the position and dignity which used to be their birthright; except in Native States they now enjoy little real power. Again the restless spirits who crave for political and military distinction find their ambition barred by the rigid uniformity of our administration; while the priestly and fanatical classes can bear no good-will towards a government which, however tolerant, is in their eyes alien and infidel. But we have always trusted that our rule was to be a blessing to the cultivators who form the great mass of the people. If the raiyat—ever industrious, frugal, and docile—was able to maintain his position when plundered by Moghul, Mahratta, and Pindari, it seemed not unreasonable to hope that he would soon rise to wealth and independence under a government sincerely desirous of shielding him from every foreign and domestic tyrant. For many years we have maintained a profound general peace; a pure administration of justice has succeeded to wholesale corruption; trade has been opened up; and a fixed moderate land assessment has been substituted for irregular exactions. And what are the results as affecting the well-being of the raiyat? Has he become rich and prosperous? Quite the contrary. From all parts of India the cry is the same. Not only is the raiyat without accumulated resources, but he is sunk in debt. And his daily life is represented to be a hopeless struggle with remorseless creditors who by the help of the Civil Courts strip him of all he has; who take in execution his house, his cattle and his plough, his cooking pots, even his bedding and clothes; who cause his ancestral land to be attached and sold by auction; who can reduce him to serfage, or consign him to a civil gaol. In some districts the state of things has become so unendurable that the cultivators have risen *en masse* to resist their oppressors. Such astonishing results from half a century of peaceful and benevolent government may well stir us up to ask the reason why. How is it that all our good intentions have failed so utterly?

We thought we had been sowing good seed. From whence then has come this great crop of tares?

The problem which these questions suggest is not an easy one. And the solution is further complicated by the irreconcilable difference as to first principles which exists among those who may be regarded as experts. All are agreed that the raiyat is a sick man. It is also manifest to all that the outward and visible sign of his malady is debt; grinding and apparently almost hopeless. But here the agreement ends. When we inquire from the political physicians regarding the mode of treatment we find that there are among them two opposing factions which differ entirely not only as to the remedy to be adopted, but also as to the constitution of the patient and the nature of his disease. With such divergence of opinion it is evident that we can take very little for granted. We must begin at the beginning and, putting aside all pre-conceived ideas, make a fresh diagnosis of the patient. When we understand the actual condition of the raiyat and realize his normal relationship to the money-lender, we shall be more in a position to appreciate the nature and effects of his indebtedness, and may perhaps learn the direction in which a remedy should be sought. And in order to make this inquiry profitable it is necessary to keep in view the nature of the two opposing theories above referred to. Between them the main distinction of principle is that one party favours paternal interference by Government on behalf of the raiyat, while the other party puts its faith rather in the operation of general laws. It is not easy to give a distinguishing name to these two parties, but it may be observed generally that the former view is the more popular one, especially among the executive or Revenue officers of Government who attribute much of the existing mischief to our judicial system, which some of them regard as a "gigantic and costly contrivance for doing injustice;" while the other view finds its advocates among Judicial officers who, like myself, desire reform but not revolution in our system of civil justice. I may therefore perhaps, for facility of reference, be allowed to term the view which favours Government interference, the Revenue or paternal theory; the opposing theory being referred to as the Judicial, or economic. Those who favour the Revenue theory have of late been altogether dominant in India; and we find the effect of their influence in recent legislation for the relief, by direct Government interference, of the indebted land-holding class in Sind and other provinces; also in those provisions of the Amended Code of Civil Procedure which tend to cripple the efficiency of the Civil Courts. Exceptional class legislation has thus been initiated on a large scale. And my contention is that this policy has been adopted without sufficient discussion of the principles involved. The danger that

now threatens the sick man is that active treatment has been commenced before arriving at a clear understanding as to the nature of his malady. We must beware, in adopting remedies to allay the symptoms, lest we sap the vitality of the patient and in the end bring about a general paralysis.

As the matters in controversy are of an intricate kind I trust I shall be excused if I endeavour to treat them in a somewhat formal manner, stating concisely the case for each side so as to bring out the material issues. The main points for decision are, (1) what is the evil with which we have to deal? (2) what is the remedy? and (3) how should this remedy be applied in practice? In reply to these questions the theory of the dominant Revenue party may I think be fairly embodied in the three following propositions: (1) That the raiyat's indebtedness to the money-lender is in itself the evil; (2) that if we wish to see the raiyat prosperous we must make him independent of the money-lender; and (3) that it is the duty of Government to interfere directly on his behalf. On the other hand those who hold the judicial or economic view dissent strongly from each and all of these three propositions. They hold (1) that the raiyat's indebtedness to the money-lender is not necessarily an evil; (2) that the raiyat's natural and healthy condition is one of friendly dependence on the money-lender; and (3) that direct Government interference is contrary to sound principles and will damage those whom it is hoped to serve. Such are the two opposing theories. Which party is in the right? Is it better forcibly to separate the combatants, or to reconcile them?

In order to arrive at a satisfactory judgment on these pleadings the only safe mode of proceeding is to put aside all preconceived ideas and try to ascertain the real facts about the raiyat in his dealings with the money-lender. We must then consider the economic meaning of these facts; and endeavour to draw conclusions consonant with sound acknowledged principles. Accordingly I proceed in the first place to consider the raiyat in the concrete. And for purposes of illustration I propose to take the Kúnbí of the Bombay Deccan; selecting him partly because in those districts the chronic discord between the two classes has recently broken out into open war; and partly because we possess in the five volumes which contain the report of the Deccan Ríos Commission, a great body of facts collected on the spot by experienced observers; besides a summary of official correspondence bearing on the subject.—In the Bombay Deccan, where the raiyat-wári system prevails, the land is usually brought under cultivation through the joint action of the raiyat and the village sáukár. The established custom is that the sáukár provides the seed-corn and feeds

the raiyat and his family until the crop is ripe; making also cash advances to pay revenue instalments, buy bullocks, dig wells, and so forth. When therefore things work smoothly, the condition of the two classes may be regarded as a partnership founded on equity and mutual advantage; each taking a share of the crop which is produced by the industry of the one and the self-restraint of the other. In a few cases, perhaps, the raiyat is independent of the sáukár, having by him sufficient capital for maintenance and improvements. But such cases are not common. For the enterprising raiyat who has good credit likes to extend his cultivation and raise more valuable crops such as sugar-cane and spices, taking up capital to be afterwards repaid from the increased profits of his land. And in any case he finds it convenient to have a running account with the sáukár who is a general dealer as well as the village banker. Speaking of the old friendly relations of the two classes Captain (now Sir George) Wingate, in a report to the Sadar Adálat, tells us that "the village money-lender and the raiyat worked together "in harmony, and both alike shared prosperity and adversity together." That this is the raiyat's view of the natural order of things is amply shown by the evidence taken before the Commission. Thus one witness describes how, when hard pressed, he appealed to his creditor on the ground of this natural tie, and besought him saying: " You are my "mother and I am your son." And in truth the parable is not inapt. For the sáukár's advances are to the raiyat as mother's milk. He cannot live without them. And all that he asks is to be treated with parental kindness and forbearance. This view, which recognizes the mutual dependence of the two classes and regards reconciliation as the only hope of future prosperity, is strongly urged by Mr. Shanbhuprasád, a very experienced Native member of the Commission, who summarizes his conclusions as follows: "The raiyats cannot do without the sáukárs: "they must have some people to borrow from, and Government cannot "undertake the business of the sáukárs. No measures should therefore "be taken that may disturb the amicable relation between the sáukárs "and the raiyats." The sáukár is, as it were, the channel of irrigation. Without him the raiyat must remain unproductive, like fertile soil when the water-supply is cut off. If this be accepted as a correct description of the natural relationship, how should these facts be expressed in the language of political economy? We know that all circumstances attending the production and distribution of wealth are capable of being analyzed according to scientific rules. To what class then of phenomena should we refer the original friendliness and the present internecine struggle between those who borrow and those who lend? It appears to me clear that in the existing disorders we have simply a repetition, in-

an Indian form, of the great struggle between the labourer and the capitalist: on the one side the raiyat who represents labour, on the other side the village sáukár who represents capital. It is true that in Europe the rate of wages is outwardly the matter in dispute, while in India it is the rate of interest. But the principle is the same. And as soon as we can fully realize this important fact the whole situation will become clear. For the conclusions of political science will be available to us for guidance, teaching us to trace effects to valid ascertained causes. Thus in the present case the text-books on political economy set forth the ordinary incidents of a contest between labour and capital, showing in what respects the interest of the labourer is identical with that of the capitalist and in what respects it is antagonistic. And these incidents are equally true in India and in England. To put the case in its simplest form, when the labourer and the capitalist jointly produce a loaf it is the interest of both that the loaf should be as large as possible. This is the first and harmonious stage. But their interests become antagonistic when, at the second stage, each desires to secure for himself as large a share of the bread as he can. They are at one in wishing the joint profits to be large, but they fall out as to the terms of the partition. The ruinous evils of such a quarrel are being amply illustrated in England at the present time. But no one supposes that any industry would be benefited if the connection between capital and labour were to cease. Nor does any one suppose that good would come from direct interference by the Legislature in favour of one or other of the combatants. On all hands it is acknowledged that the only remedy is to be found in reconciliation so as to produce harmonious and efficient work at the stage of production, and an equitable and easy decision in allotting the profits. Similarly in India the parties have passed from the first stage, when "the village money-lender and the raiyat worked "together in harmony," to the second stage of mutual hatred and mutual injuries. And similarly it will be found that the only valid remedy is reconciliation, according as it does equally with the principles of political economy and with practical experience as set forth by Mr. Sham-bhuprasád.

Having thus briefly reviewed the situation of the raiyat and pointed out its economic aspects, we may now return to the three propositions which seem to embody the idea of those advisers of Government who favour the Revenue or paternal theory of treatment. The propositions are as follows: (1) That the raiyat's indebtedness to the sáukár is in itself an evil; (2) that if we wish to see him prosperous we must make him independent of the sáukár; and (3) that it is the duty of Government to interfere directly on his behalf. Judging by the conclu-

sions we have just arrived at we shall find that all these propositions are founded either upon misconceptions of fact or upon erroneous principles. First then, is the indebtedness of the raiyat to the sáukár an evil in itself? On this point there is much confusion of ideas. Because excessive debt appears before us as the main sign and symptom of the cultivator's ruin, many of his friends run away with the notion that debt is the evil we wish to get rid of. They mistake the symptom of the disease for the disease itself. But a little consideration will show us that debt is not in itself a bad thing. On the contrary if a man can borrow money at 12 per cent. and make 50 per cent. by employing it in cultivation or any other industry, the debt is a source of prosperity. The deeper he can plunge into debt on these terms, the greater will be his profits. Considered in this light, debt is simply working on borrowed capital; the method followed by all enterprising classes of producers, such as the mill-owners of Lancashire and the tenant farmers of Scotland. It would be absurd to suppose that debt of this kind took anything from a man's position and independence. We see therefore that debt is good or bad, profitable or burdensome, according to circumstances. The borrower is prosperous if the profits of his business largely exceed the interest he pays for his borrowed capital. But if the interest more than eats up the profits he is evidently tending to ruin. We thus see that the test question for schemes of relief in favour of the embarrassed producer is whether they tend to reduce or to increase the rate of interest which he has to pay. All measures which improve the raiyat's credit and reduce the rate of interest by drawing capital to the land must be approved, while those must be condemned which damage the raiyat's credit and prevent his borrowing on favourable terms. This conclusion, which is the key of the whole position, brings us face to face with what appears to me perhaps the most dangerous, because the most plausible, fallacy by which the right understanding of this question is obscured. I refer to the doctrine of those advocates of the paternal theory who hold that, although we cannot do away with the money-lender altogether it is desirable to diminish up to a certain point the raiyat's facility for borrowing. They admit that it would not do to destroy his credit altogether, as they see that if the sáukár refused to feed him till his crop was ripe the land would simply go out of cultivation. But they hold that it is bad for the raiyat to have too much credit, as that will probably lead him into extravagance. They think that by judiciously tightening the money-market, supplies may be stopped at the point where necessity ends and extravagance begins. With reference to this idea it may be noted that the inquiries of the Deccan Riots Commission show that the supposed extravagance of the raiyat, his expenditure on

marriage and other festivals, has been altogether over-estimated. To quote their words, "The occasions occur seldom and probably in a course of years the total sum spent in this way by any raiyat is not larger than a man in his position is justified in spending on social and domestic pleasures." But in point of fact the whole doctrine is a fallacious one, being founded on the supposition that the power of borrowing depends in any way on the purpose for which the money is borrowed. The power of borrowing depends on the credit of the borrower—and upon nothing else. The money-lender is no *Custos morum*; and will lend Rs.100 to A for a caste dinner with illuminations and fireworks, while he will not lend one rupee to B to keep him from starving. Moreover by tightening the money market we do not cause loans to be refused, unless it be to a few of the most destitute; we only raise the rate of interest all round, and embarrass those who might otherwise conduct their business at a profit. An illustration will show the mischievous effect of such a policy. Suppose A, B, and C cultivating three portions of a field which yields 50 per cent. on the outlay. A having good credit borrows his capital at 12 per cent., and is prosperous; B borrows at 24 per cent., and maintains himself comfortably; while C has to pay 36 per cent., and lives on the verge of subsistence. If the money market be tightened to the extent of 12 per cent. who is benefited? The result is that A's prosperity is gone, B is reduced to a bare subsistence, and C is ruined. As the flood deepens, those who had their heads above water are brought into difficulty, and those who were struggling are drowned altogether. Or we may put the illustration in a different form. Suppose the interest to be the same for A, B, and C, viz. at 24 per cent., and suppose the productiveness of their land to be the varying quantity, A's land producing 50 per cent., B's 40, and C's 30. It is evident that if the rate of interest be reduced to 12 per cent. not only would all three be largely benefited, but they could profitably extend their cultivation to lands of inferior fertility; while, on the other hand, if the rate of interest were raised 12 per cent., the profits of A and B would be reduced, and C's land would be thrown out of cultivation altogether. I think these considerations are sufficient to put out of court the doctrine that the raiyat can be benefited by tightening the money market. We thus return to the conclusion above arrived at, that schemes of relief must be approved or condemned according as they tend to reduce or to increase the rate of interest, that is according as they improve or damage the raiyat's credit. And upon the issue stated in Proposition (1) we find that debt is not necessarily a bad thing; on the contrary it tends to prosperity if the raiyat's credit is good enough to allow him to borrow on favourable terms. The Guzerat

cultivator who has good credit pays 12, 9, and sometimes only 5 per cent. per annum interest, and is prosperous enough. It is the unfortunate bankrupt Deccan raiyat who is crushed by his load of debt because he is charged from one pice to one anna per rupee per mensem, that is from 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 75 per cent. per annum.

We now come to the second proposition, and inquire whether in order to help the raiyat we should try to make him independent of the money-lender? There are many in India who think that the raiyat's connection with the sáukár should if possible be broken off. They regard the money-lender as the natural enemy of the cultivator, as the evil spirit which lures him into debt and ultimately sweeps him away into perdition. This feeling of hostility to the money-lender, though not altogether unnatural, is most unfortunate. It originates no doubt partly from the fraud and cruelty practised by individual creditors. But it may also in great measure be traced to a false analogy drawn from experience of things as found in England. Lord Cornwallis in his permanent settlement of Lower Bengal was probably to a certain extent misled in his calculations by identifying the zemindár with the English landlord. And it appears that a similar fallacy underlies most of the popular schemes for relieving the land-holding class of Western India. The raiyat in debt to the sáukár has been too much identified with the prodigal heir of English or Irish estates caught in the toils of the wily usurer. And accordingly throughout the official correspondence we find the money-lender condemned in the bitterest terms. He is represented as battenning and fattening on his victim. He is the "village Shylock," the "vampire," the "blood-sucking Bania." The image thus brought before our mind's eye is that of a poor struggling human being upon whose throat some foul creature has fastened; and the bystanders are appealed to to put an end to so horrible a scene. Who can be so heartless as to watch such a struggle unmoved? Must we not smite the monster and tear him from his prey? Now the whole of this is made up of ill-directed sentiment and is based on a false analogy. If we must needs have a grotesque simile, I would rather liken the raiyat and the sáukár to the Siamese twins, who could quarrel and inflict blows on each other, but whose comfort lay in harmony, and to whom separation meant death. But in truth it is better, in so delicate an analysis, to rid ourselves of such analogies which are apt to prove misleading. The only proper method is to examine the dry facts and accept the results of political science. And by applying this method we have already shown that to separate the raiyat from the sáukár is to separate labour and capital, and to cause the ruin of both. With reference therefore to Proposition (2) we must decide that it is neither possible nor desirable to

make the raiyat independent of the sáukár ; that the great object is to reconcile the two classes and get them to work together in harmony. If this be the case it is evident that all angry feelings expressed against the money-lender tend only to mischief. Throughout history the money-lender has never been a popular character ; and it is only too easy to arouse irrational feelings of hatred against this useful public agent whose abstinence and industry accumulate and distribute the wages fund. Moreover when we look calmly at the facts there seems to be no reason to dislike the village sáukár who according to his lights maintains a hard struggle for existence. The Commissioners have stated in their report that "there is no evidence before (them) that the profits of the sáukár's business are extravagant." And my own experience is that the village Márwári so far from being swollen with gains is often the most ill fed and ill-clothed member of the community. He is ever on the tramp, enduring much obloquy and ill-treatment. And I am informed that he usually has to serve an apprenticeship of some twelve or fifteen years before he can afford to marry and set up on his own account.

With regard to Proposition (3) no detailed argument seems to be required; seeing that we merely state a common-place when we condemn Government interference in disputes between labour and capital. I shall therefore simply sum up my conclusions as regards the three propositions above stated, and claim a verdict against the Revenue or paternal theory of treatment, on the ground that it has been shown (1) that the raiyat's indebtedness is not an evil in itself but that it may be made advantageous to him if we can so improve his credit as to enable him to borrow on terms which will make his industry profitable ; (2) that the raiyat's natural and healthy condition is one of friendly dependence on the money-lender, and that this connection, instead of being dissolved, should be regulated and developed ; and (3) that all attempts at direct interference on the part of Government in favour of either party are contrary to sound principles, and will only damage those whom it is hoped to serve. Any measures of severity directed against the lending class, any difficulties thrown in the way of their business, will only injure the borrower. For if the partnership be dissolved, the raiyat is left helpless, whereas the sáukár can remove his capital and ply his trade elsewhere.

Gathering up these conclusions into a simple formula we thus find that, instead of being a misfortune, the raiyat's connection with the village sáukár may be made the foundation of general prosperity. But this happy result depends on the fulfilment of three important conditions : there must be good-will and confidence between the classes ; the

rate of interest must be moderate ; and there must be some reasonable safeguards against oppression.. On these terms the more capital that flows towards the land the better. Accordingly the leading remedies for existing anarchy and pauperism appear to be the following :

- (a) *Conciliation*, to heal the quarrel between the classes ;
- (b) *Improved credit*, to lower the rate of interest ; and
- (c) *A law of insolvency*, to provide a means of escape in extreme cases.

Under one or other of these headings all the proposals that I have met with for benefitting the raiyat may be classified and judged. This evening I can only deal with the first part of this programme, *Conciliation*, which includes the topic which I have chosen as the subject of this paper. But before going into the details of the proposed Panchayat arrangements, I should like to say just a very few words regarding the other two headings in order to show in outline the entire scheme necessary to carry out what I have termed the economic policy. Under heading (b) are approved all arrangements tending to lower the rate of interest by sustaining the raiyat's credit ; and, what is still more important, those numerous proposals are condemned which are professedly intended to damage his credit, or which will manifestly have that effect. Thus we must approve all reforms in our civil procedure tending to increase the confidence of the lender by making the recovery of debt certain, rapid, and cheap ; we should develop the registration system so as to check frauds ; we should reduce judicial delays, especially those arising from unprofitable appeals ; and if possible lower the Court fees which are very burdensome on the poor suitor. On the other hand we must, as regards this heading, resolutely put aside sentiment, and condemn all proposals to exempt from attachment land, houses, cattle, implements, pensions, salaries, wages, &c. ; also proposals to abolish imprisonment for debt. As security for the repayment of his debts, the raiyat has his property and his labour, present and future. And any measures which prevent these assets being made available as security strike at his credit and deprive him of the means of borrowing on favourable terms. Did time permit I should gladly go fully into this question of damaging the raiyat's credit, for it is here that the greatest danger arises from the course taken by official opinion in India. Our judicial system for the recovery of debt is already costly and cumbrous, and the new Code of Civil Procedure tends to make it more so. Moreover this new Code protects from attachment and sale almost every kind of property which the raiyat might offer as collateral security, thus reducing him to borrow on his personal credit only. And I much fear

that in the impending legislation for the Riot Districts in the Deccan the same policy of land protection will be pursued. But it should be borne in mind that there is in practice little use in exempting the land itself from attachment so long as the whole beneficial interest can be taken in execution. The crops as soon as cut become movable property and can each year be swept away by the judgment creditor. The only effect therefore of protective policy would be to keep pauper cultivators on the land until they were ultimately evicted by the Collector for arrears of revenue. If we wish to do the raiyat a kindness we must remember that when hopelessly sunk in debt he is worse off than a day labourer, and the sooner he accepts the latter position the better both for himself and his fellows. As regards heading (c) the general agreement as to the expediency of having a law of Insolvency is as striking as the divergence of opinion in almost all other matters connected with the question before us. Such a law is the only effectual check upon oppression, as making it the interest of the creditor to be forbearing. And the compiler of the Appendices to the Deccan Riots Report, after summarizing the favourable opinions, adds : "I have not met with any opinions against the enactment of an Insolvency law in India in any of the records to which my search has hitherto extended." With such agreement why do we not adopt an approved remedy of this kind before trying experiments which will affect landed property all over India, experiments which are revolutionary and may prove dangerous ? I may mention that I had the privilege of consulting Sir George Wingate on this subject, and he replied as follows : "The remedy in which I had myself the greatest confidence when in India was a law of Insolvency such as you describe, which should as in this country operate to prevent the condition of a debtor becoming altogether hopeless even when at the worst."

Having thus briefly sketched the outline of a general scheme, I now return to heading (a) *Conciliation*, in order to consider the proposed uses of the Panchayat or Village Council as a remedy for existing disorder; as a means not only of putting an end to the internecine warfare now going on between the classes, but also as the most efficient agent for procuring harmonious and profitable co-operation for the future. In other words I propose that this ancient institution should be so developed as to constitute both a permanent Board of Conciliation for the settlement of class disputes, and also a Court of Arbitration for the prompt, inexpensive, and satisfactory disposal of suits between individuals. In proposing thus to fall back upon the village system, which has been properly described as the "Unit of Indian Administration," I feel that I shall have the support of all those who wish to see

our measures founded on the sure basis of popular usages and popular approval. You will recollect how strongly Sir Bartle Frere, in a Paper read before this Association, advocated the maintenance and development of the village organization. "The Village Councils," he says, "which exist almost everywhere in their ancient form and in somewhat of their ancient power, . . . may be regarded as the equivalents of such assemblies as our forefathers used to have in their parishes, and I trust that no feelings regarding the shortcomings of select vestries will induce you to think lightly of the efficiency of the Indian Village Council. Those Councils exist now, and exist in some considerable vigour, and I believe it would be only necessary to recognize them and give them a status in our administrative machinery." But although this village system of self-government has plenty of vitality it must unfortunately work at a disadvantage in the midst of so centralized an administration as that of British India. As Sir B. Frere expresses it, "the difficulty is to connect such an institution with our legal and official system without crushing or paralyzing it by the rigid formalities into which it is the tendency of our principles to become fossilised." We govern mainly (would that we did not!) by means of great departments; and great departments are little tolerant of local peculiarities and local independence. Sir Richard Garth, Chief Justice of Bengal, has recently on a public occasion warned us against the dangers of this centralizing and unsympathetic policy. And his advice could not find better application than on the present occasion. In order therefore that these Village Councils may be preserved and developed it is necessary that Government should extend to them a hearty and watchful support. Something might also perhaps be done by a grant of certain honorary rank. And as in England it is the ambition of every country gentleman to be placed on the Commission of the Peace, so in India it might become the chief pride of respectable landholders, merchants, and pensioners to gain a seat in the local Council. A body so constituted might exercise a wide influence in conciliating antagonistic classes. And to show that this idea is not altogether visionary, I will quote the authority of as practical a statesman as our present Finance Minister, Sir John Strachey, who, with reference to agrarian troubles in the N.W. Provinces, recorded the following opinion: "Some day I hope we may see among other reforms the establishment of Courts of Conciliation, whose special function it will be to preserve the people from any litigation at all, except that which is really unavoidable." This was said nearly thirty years ago. And the time seems now to have come when, from the increasing intelligence and self-reliance of the people, such a reform is both necessary and practicable.

Much good may thus be done by bringing local public opinion to bear against those who disturb the harmony which should exist among the rural classes : against the oppressive creditor who brings odium on the whole class of lenders, and against the dishonest debtor who causes all borrowers to be distrusted. But the most important practical functions of the Panchayat as an instrument of conciliation are those connected with the decision of suits between individuals. We are now suffering from the discord produced by hostile litigation in the Courts. And my proposal is to revert as far as possible to the good old method of friendly arbitration. There should be no real difficulty in doing this. For the Panchayat, as a Court of Arbitration, is an ancient institution respected and understood by the people ; it is still employed by them in all their private affairs and in matters of caste ; and among the Mahrattas it was the main instrument of judicial procedure. It forms indeed, to use the words of a recent writer, part and parcel of "the local custom, known "to all and beloved by all, which has grown up out of the very evils and "advantages of their state of society, and fits into every queer nook and "perverse fancy of the Native mind." A friendly method of this kind if substituted for hostile litigation might accomplish much in the interests of peace and harmony. For while our Court system forces the parties into a position of antagonism, arbitration tends to eliminate the cause of quarrel and to allay those feuds (*adawat*) between neighbours and relations which are the bane of Indian village life. A very little consideration will show how this is the case. Suppose for example that Rama and Gopal, brothers or neighbours, quarrel about a cocoa-nut tree ; if the dispute is referred to mutual friends not only is the right to the cocoa-nuts decided once for all, but the various little grievances and heartburnings which led to the dispute are discussed and settled ; and if the arbitration is a success, the parties are better friends after the quarrel than they were before. On the other hand, if Rama brings a suit against Gopal in the Civil Court, what is the result ? From that day there is war, not only between the principals, but among all those coming under their influence. And the long period which must elapse before a final decision gives ample time for strategy and intrigue. When the case has been heard and decided by the original Court, the losing party appeals to the District Judge ; and ultimately can bring it before the High Court at Bombay, sometimes even before the Queen in Council. The case thus drags on for years with costs ruinous to all parties. But, however deplorable, the delay and expense are not the worst part of the business. The greater evil to society is the bitter hatred and sense of wrong engendered by the mutual injuries inflicted during the struggle. And after all there is no finality. The right to one cocoa-nut tree has

indeed been settled. But the defeated party is eager for revenge. The contending forces have met and fought at one point; but as long as the enmity lasts, there will never be wanting materials for fresh litigation. Such feuds, moreover, are a fertile source of crime. They can hardly be carried on without the weapons of false evidence and forgery, and often culminate in violent assaults, incendiarism, and even murder. Such being the natural incidents which attend litigation it is evident that we are not promoting peace and good-will between borrowers and lenders when we force them to settle their differences in the Civil Courts. But under our present system we leave them no other resource. As in England the capitalist and labourer, the employer and the employed, fight out their quarrel by strikes and lock-outs, so in India the lender and the borrower make our Civil Courts their battle-field and carry on their internecine warfare with the weapons of fraud and chicane. I cannot better describe this disastrous state of affairs than in the words of Sir George Wingate's report already quoted. Under the old *régime*, he says, "the village money-lender and the raiyat worked in harmony, and both alike shared prosperity and adversity together. Under our rule this happy and mutually advantageous state of affairs has been completely overturned." He describes the conflict which has ensued, oppression on one side and fraud on the other; and concludes as follows: "This miserable struggle between debtor and creditor is thoroughly debasing to both. The creditor is made by it a grasping hard-hearted oppressor. The debtor a crouching false-hearted slave. It is disheartening to contemplate, and yet it would be weakness to conceal the fact that this antagonism of classes and degradation of the people, which is fast spreading over the land, is the work of our laws and our rule." If such be the results of antagonism, why not try conciliation? Why not revert to the method which produced "mutual confidence and mutual good-will"? Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone was very strongly in favour of the Panchayat system, and bears testimony to its popularity, quoting in proof the current phrase, "Panch Parameswara," an Eastern rendering of the maxim *Vox populi vox Dei*. In another place he says: "Too much pains cannot be taken to encourage private arbitration." And in his celebrated report on the Deccan he has given a full description of its working under Rám Shástri and the great Minister Náná Fárnavis, together with his own views as to its continuance under British rule. Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm and other eminent statesmen of a past generation shared in this view and expressed opinions strongly in favour of reviving this national institution. And in many respects the present time appears to be very favourable for such a revival, in the Bombay Presidency at least. For the people of their own accord have

already begun to take vigorous action in this direction, setting up "Lawád" or Arbitration Courts as a means of avoiding judicial expense and delay. The following extract from a Native paper will show the progress already made: "The movement for the establishment of "private Arbitration Courts commenced about two years ago in the "small Talooka town of Indápur in the Poona District. The want of "such Courts was so generally felt, and the existing law was so favourable "to their establishment that in two years private Arbitration "Courts have been established in the Zilla towns of Poona, Sattara, "Sholapoor, Ahmednagar, Tanna, Ratnagiri, Nasick, Ahmedabad, and "in the Poona, Sholapoor, Sattara and Tanna Districts, branch Courts "have been established in the Talooka towns of Indapoort, Supe, "Karmale, Saswada, Talegaum, Kheda, Junnar, Kerjut, Kalian, and "Wai. The Poona Arbitration Court commenced its work in January "1876. At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Poona, a committee "of eighty-two gentlemen, representing all classes of the population, was "appointed as a Board of Judges. Private suitors are allowed to "choose any one or more out of this number to arbitrate upon matters "referred to them. The arbitrators sit by rotation, and get no remuneration for their voluntary labours. Nearly 3,000 suits during "the last two years have been disposed of by private settlement in the "Poona Arbitration Court." These I submit are solid results which reflect the highest credit on the more educated classes who have thus spontaneously come forward to help their poorer brothers. These 3,000 suits amicably settled in Poona alone represent many quarrels avoided, much time and money saved, many lies left untold. In India the general complaint is that we cannot get the people to help themselves; and that our attempts at reform are met by a passive resistance more difficult to deal with than any active opposition. We have therefore all the more reason to congratulate ourselves that the people have now come forward of their own accord to help us in this great difficulty. All good Hindus recognize the work of a peacemaker as part of their religious duty. And my friend Mr. Gunesh Wassoodeo Joshi, one of the founders of the Poona Lawád Court, brings into the work much of the fervour of missionary zeal, travelling about to encourage his fellow-countrymen in the good cause.

The general advantages of arbitration are so manifest and are so generally acknowledged that it seems almost superfluous on my part to urge more at length the truth of what no one denies. But as an Indian Judge, who has spent very many weary and unprofitable hours struggling in the ocean of litigation, "ever climbing up the climbing "wave," I may perhaps be permitted to bear unprejudiced witness

on one special point, viz., the superiority of arbitration as a means of getting at the real merits of a case. As regards this point arbitration has a clear advantage; a Court being much trammeled by formal pleadings and the technical rules of evidence. No doubt these rules are salutary in their way in order to insure uniformity of practice. But none the less are they unfavourable to a right decision on the merits of any particular case. And the Judge often finds himself obliged reluctantly to discard, as irrelevant, hearsay evidence which carries with it the strongest moral conviction, or to refuse as inadmissible documents which put the whole transaction in its true light. Further it is to be noticed that litigants naturally enough bring into Court only those witnesses who are prepared to support their case; so that the Judge has no opportunity of learning the real merits from unprejudiced persons. He must make the best guess he can at the truth after comparing two sets of irreconcilable statements, both of which he believes to be false. On the other hand, a Panchayat of village elders sitting in council at the "entering in of the gate" can rarely be deceived as to the real merits of a case. Being familiar with local custom and feeling, they are able, by discreet inquiry among the neighbours, to ascertain the true history of the quarrel; often very remote from the alleged grievance. For example A will perhaps bring against B a claim on a forged bond because he suspects that B has burnt his corn-rick or is too attentive to his brother's wife. Even the talk of the bazar corrects and verifies the information obtained elsewhere; while before these rustic judges the professional witnesses are dumb for very shame, their character and antecedents being known.

Summing up these conclusions, it appears that in settling disputes between creditor and debtor there are two methods, one by conciliation, that is by friendly Panchayat, the other by antagonism, that is by hostile suit in Court. And I think that it has been shown that the former method is to be preferred. But how would it do to combine both methods, to supplement the defects of the one by the excellences of the other? Let us consider the merits and defects of the two judicial agencies at our command. On the one hand we have a strong staff of Native subordinate Judges, trustworthy and highly trained, but who from their English education and isolated position find it difficult to learn the real merits of each case, and are imperfectly informed regarding the condition and feelings of the people. Indeed when hearing cases in Court, they are beset by much the same difficulties as I have described as surrounding the European Judge. On the other hand we have the local Panchayats, which are capable of thoroughly ascertaining the facts of each case, but which incline to dilatoriness and are liable to be

swayed by feelings of partiality. At present these two agencies work altogether apart, each tending to intensify its own special defects. Let us combine the two, and we shall then benefit by the excellences of both ; we shall have the exact information of the Pancháyat controlled by the business habits and impartiality of the Judge. The plan I would suggest for carrying out this object is based upon the old Mahratta system according to which a dispute never came before a Judge until every form of Pancháyat had been tried and had failed. I would propose that each large village or group of smaller villages should have its recognized Pancháyat, and that before this Judicial Committee of the Village Council all claims for small debts should in the first instance be brought. As many cases as possible should be disposed of amicably, the remainder being reserved till the subordinate Judge, coming periodically on tour, arrived at the village, when he would sit as Sir-Panch, or President of the Pancháyat, and with their assistance dispose finally of all disputed points. As the members of the Pancháyat ask for no remuneration no fee would be charged on cases settled amicably, or at most something trifling to cover petty contingencies. The usual Court fee would be charged if either of the parties invoked the aid of the subordinate Judge, whether in the decision or in the execution of the award. This payment would discourage frivolous objections to the arbitration of the Pancháyat, but would not deter a plaintiff or defendant from reserving his case if he had reasonable ground to fear injustice, on account of local feelings of enmity or partiality. I would in no case allow an appeal, for in these small debt suits a point of law very rarely occurs, and when it does the subordinate Judge is quite competent to deal with it. Even if he made a mistake it would be better that an individual should endure a little loss than that the whole body of suitors should be burdened with the worry of indefinite appeals. To guard against anything like a series of mistaken judgments I should trust to the supervision of the District Judge and his assistants, who would travel about questioning the people and hearing their complaints, inspecting the records, supervising and encouraging the Pancháyats, and using their influence to heal village feuds. This would be a much pleasanter and more profitable employment than sitting in Court listening for weary hours to professional false witnesses who in some districts do not charge their clients more than from two to four annas a day. By making such tours the young civilian would learn a great deal about the people and get into friendly sympathy with them, instead of becoming gradually hardened against them from being always shut up in Court where he sees nothing but the worst side of their character. By a system of local Pancháyats justice would be brought to every man's door ; and

as no one would be required to leave his village delays would not matter so much. The delays that are now so mischievous are those which take the man away from his fields and his work and make him dangle for indefinite periods about the subordinate and District Courts. But as a matter of fact the proposed system would cause little delay even in the contested cases. For it does not take long to dispose of a case when you can inspect the locality and have the assistance of the villagers; and this decision would be final, there being no appeal. Moreover there would be few formalities and the record of the proceedings would be very simple. Under these circumstances if each subordinate Judge had not more than one Talooka of, say, 100 villages, I should think he would be able to deal satisfactorily with the work. These considerations seem to show that the proposed scheme is at least good in theory; as being calculated to produce a satisfactory, inexpensive and prompt disposal of suits, and tending to peace and good-will instead of discord. As regards its practicability I may mention that at a District Conference attended by a number of subordinate Judges I submitted to them a variety of proposed reforms. There was a great difference of opinion about most of these proposals, but they unanimously agreed in approving the system now set forth according to which they were to go on circuit and receive the support and advice of the local Panchayats. A system of this sort has been recommended in the Deccan Riots Report, and resembles the plan allowed by the Madras Regulation on arbitration which was I believe drafted under the instructions of Sir Thomas Munro.

In concluding I have only to add the expression of an earnest hope that the English nation may be induced to look seriously into these matters, and lay down clearly the principles upon which we are to deal with these unseen and intricate but vital functions of the body politic. No doubt the technical details I have been obliged to refer to must appear dry and repulsive to all but those very deeply interested in the welfare of India. But I have felt bound to lay them before you, convinced as I am that the policy now adopted in India will prove a fatal one if persisted in. To disregard the principles of political economy is as though in physics we disregarded the law of gravitation. And as water will find its own level, so surely will wealth drain out of a country where the Legislature disregards the conditions under which it is produced and distributed. It is not easy for an outsider to get the public ear in England, especially as regards Indian subjects. But I am very desirous to submit my propositions with all deference to the judgment of public opinion in this country and in India: as regards the correctness of the principles, I would refer to public opinion in this country and especially to those who are masters of political science; with regard

to the appropriateness and practicability of the proposed remedies, I would refer to the public in India, and especially to the Native public. My proposals have one great recommendation for a State burdened with debt and taxation, viz., that they need not cost anything. If Government were willing to grant any financial assistance I should ask for it in the form of a reduction in the judicial fees. At present Government after paying all judicial expenses make a net profit from this source of five lakhs in the Presidency of Bombay alone. But a little consideration will show that the revenue thus obtained is one of the direct causes of the raiyat's miserable condition. About 90 per cent. of all the litigation consists of suits to recover small debts, and the costs in these cases fall generally on the judgment-debtor; so that most of the revenue (some 25 or 30 lakhs) from judicial fees is in reality received as an advance from the money-lender, who is left to recoup himself as best he may by putting the screw upon the poverty-stricken debtor. We should bear in mind that this large amount is withdrawn from the agricultural capital of those districts which are most in want of it; and that the burden ultimately falls on the borrowers, who are the poorest class of raiyats, at the time of their sorest need. It would appear that five lakhs could not be spent more fitly than in foregoing the profit drawn from such a source.

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said that Mr. Wedderburn had given them an address which would suggest many ideas and questions that would afford subjects for good discussion. Sometimes it happened on occasions like these that the bill of fare led an audience to expect too much; but the title of the address just delivered did not lead him to expect so much as had been put before the meeting, for there was not only an able argument upon the Panchayat, but the difficult and wide subjects of land tenure, and the relations between money-lenders and creditors in India, had also been dealt with. The East India Association's Secretary had been good enough to send him in advance a copy of the paper, but engagements elsewhere had been so pressing that he had been unable to peruse it, and therefore had the pleasure reserved of hearing it from Mr. Wedderburn himself. He was not prepared to discuss very fully the difficult and important questions raised, but he would say a few words with the view of inviting discussion. The first part of the lecturer's observations was devoted to the position of the ryot, and he described him as being unprosperous to the last degree. The question occurred to him (the Chairman) whether it was altogether a correct description of the mass of the agriculturists in India. He was inclined to think that, taking India as a whole, the picture

drawn was too gloomy. (Hear, hear.) He thought there were provinces—indeed, he could positively say it in respect of some with which he was personally acquainted—to which Mr. Wedderburn's description could hardly be properly applied. (Hear, hear.) In the Punjab especially the agriculturist was a great deal better off than Mr. Wedderburn had painted him. The Punjab contains the finest population in India, and its prosperity is to be attributed to the character of the people as well as to the local institutions. Now, the Punjab is a province of small proprietors and small cultivators, and is doubtless prosperous; and, as a natural consequence, the people are disposed to appreciate English rule. He remembered that at one time there was a fear that the evils to which Mr. Wedderburn had alluded would fall upon the Punjab—viz., that the ryots would fall into the hands of the money-lenders, or, something even worse, into the hands of the lawyers—(laughter)—and that thus their prosperity would be materially diminished. It was a great relief to him to learn that this fear had not been realized; as, from the reports of Sir H. Davies, while Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, it appeared that the state of the agriculturist in the Punjab was not so bad, and that he was very far from giving himself up, body and soul, to the money-lenders or the lawyers. Be they harpies or beneficent angels, at all events the ryots of the Punjab had not come absolutely under their influence. Then there was that other great province of Bengal, with which he had had something to do. It had been supposed that under the Permanent Settlement the zemindar became everything, the ryot nothing; but Lord Cornwallis's Settlement gave important rights to the ryot, and in large districts of Bengal the ryots had been preserved by habit and by custom, so that the agriculturists there were not so badly off. In Eastern Bengal especially the ryot up to the present time is tolerably well off, if he only succeeds in preserving his rights against the encroachments which sometimes threaten him. In other provinces it is quite true that the state of the ryot may not be so good, but he was inclined to think that the depressed state of Bombay and other districts is due to local and peculiar circumstances. He had not enjoyed the advantage of studying the five volumes containing the Report of the Deccan Commission, but he hoped to do so some day in order to get at the bottom of the condition of the Bombay ryot. He believed, however, that the indebtedness and impecuniosity of the ryot is due, not to the want of credit, but to too much credit. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Wedderburn said that the ryot and the money-lender are the complement of each other; but too great an advantage had been given to the money-lender, as formerly the land of the ryot was not saleable for debt, nor could it be summarily

seized; whereas now, by having made the ryot the absolute possessor, the land is saleable and transferable, and in this respect a means of obtaining credit had been created which the ryot had been allowed to abuse. This consideration induced the money-lender to offer him money too freely, and the ryot has taken advantage of the credit and embarrassed himself with debt—a fact much to be regretted. At the same time debt is a necessary result of the state of things in which property is much divided, and there is a disposition to enlarge holdings and to borrow for that purpose. He confessed that he did not take the sanguine views of Mr. Wedderburn in relation to the advantages of debt. The argument he used seemed to be something equivalent to giving a young man at Oxford inclined to be extravagant great facilities for raising money with the view of relieving him of the inconvenience of a burden he ought never to have incurred. It might be an advantage to get money cheap, but under certain circumstances it would be an advantage not to be able to get money at all. There may be uses in credit, but there are also abuses, and to the latter the ryot very frequently becomes a victim. There is nothing more difficult than to find a remedy for this state of things. The arguments on both sides of the question are strong, and he hoped they would be elicited in the discussion. On the one hand, it might be urged that greater facilities should be given to the money-lender, and, on the other hand, that credit should be restricted, in order to prevent the ryot from getting head and ears in debt. Then there is the question of insolvency, of which, however, he did not intend to speak; but, passing onto the question of the Village Panchayats, he would at once say that no one could more heartily concur than he in the belief that these councils were of extreme advantage. Indeed, he was disposed to go further than Mr. Wedderburn, and to say that wherever they exist they should be encouraged, and where they have fallen into desuetude they should be reconstituted, preserved, and perpetuated—(hear, hear)—and that not only as mere machinery for judicial purposes, but for the whole machinery of the administration of village life. With regard to the whole system of government in India, he thought the bureaus had taken too much into their hands—much more, indeed, than they could properly perform. It was impossible for the instruments of Government to go down to the village and the individual, and therefore a grievous mistake had been made in removing the means by which the old village systems were held together. (Hear, hear.) By taking from the village systems the strength of legal obligation, they had been practically dissolved; for in every community there would certainly be men of refractory and rebellious character who would set at naught the decisions of the Panchayat. In dealing with India we have been afflicted

too much with a belief in our own institutions, and consequently the native institutions had not received the support they should have had ; and, as the result, in most parts of India the Village Councils are extinct. The prosperity that has obtained in the Punjab he attributed in no small degree to the Village Panchayat system, by which the people govern themselves. In other parts of India such was not the case. We have superseded the village government sometimes by the zemindar, sometimes by the individual ryot, and that was a serious mistake. (Hear, hear.) We shall not govern well, either from an administrative or a judicial point of view, until we restore vitality to the village institutions which Mr. Wedderburn so ably described. (Hear, hear.) The Chairman concluded by inviting discussion.

Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT observed that the Chairman had expressed a doubt as to the ryots being in such a bad condition as Mr. Wedderburn had implied. But he could corroborate the lecturer from his own observation in the Madras Presidency and the open country of Mysore. He happened to have at that moment, too, in his hand a report lately obtained as the result of inquiries made by Mr. Robinson with reference to the agricultural prospects of the Coimbatore district. The report revealed most melancholy facts ; and while he would not trouble the meeting with any quotation from it, he would refer those who were interested in the subject to the account of it which would be found in the *Field* of January 26. It was sufficient to say that Mr. Robinson reported the condition of the ryots to be so extremely bad that large numbers of them eat but two meals daily, and those of the coarsest food, because if they indulged in a third meal they would have nothing left to pay their rent. This report threw a flood of light on the condition of the agricultural classes, which completely bore out the statements of Mr. Wedderburn on the same subject. With regard to the value of the Village Panchayat, he thought no one acquainted with India could entertain the slightest doubt ; and as a proof of the light estimation in which the legal system was held, the speaker said that whilst in India a Native came one day to him and asked him to be the arbitrator in a dispute, because, said he, "if you don't, he (the other party) will go to the courts of law, and he will bribe and I shall bribe, and we shall both be ruined." (Laughter.) That, indeed, was the experience throughout British India ; and he would rather go back and live the life of his ancestors six hundred years ago, than be an Indian ryot and have to go to the civil courts for redress for grievances ; for he often goes from court to court and spends a deal of money, and obtains no satisfaction whatever after all his pains. In most particulars he (the speaker)

agreed with Mr. Wedderburn, but in regard to his condemnation of all proposals to exempt from attachment land, houses, cattle, implements, pensions, salaries, wages, &c., he did not concur. Mr. Wedderburn's argument in the abstract might be unanswerable—viz., that by making these things security for the payment of the ryot's debts, you would enable the ryot to borrow money at a lower rate; but there was an important consideration which had been lost sight of here, and that was the agricultural condition of India. Very large portions of land were held now by pauper ryots, but if further facilities for borrowing money were given, the result would be that the race of pauper cultivators would be increased; for when a man's property could be easily realized, he could readily obtain money, and thus readily get into debt. Any one who had read the report about the Coimbatore district, to which he had before alluded, would find that the ryots had ploughed up large quantities of land which they had not the means of properly cultivating. In Coimbatore 700,000 acres had thus been taken up. (*Hear, hear.*) If that "*Hear, hear.*" was an approval of the land being thus taken up, he (the speaker) was sure that it could not come from an agriculturist or a proprietor, such as he was himself. He thought, therefore, that a tightening of the money market would be the result of recent Government measures, and this would have the effect of preventing the reckless ploughing up of land, and the system of getting crop after crop out of it without improving it, and eventually handing it back to the Government a sheer desert. For the reasons which he had stated, he disagreed with Mr. Wedderburn as to the giving of greater facilities for the borrowing of money—a system which ought not, in his judgment, to be further developed or encouraged.

Mr. J. SCARLETT CAMPBELL observed that on the question of the value of the Panchayat, there was little doubt that the audience would be unanimous, and so would the Natives of India, for he was reminded of an expression, with reference to our Courts, made use of to him by one of them, the interpretation of which was, "The man who 'wins, loses; and the man who loses, is drowned.'"
("Hear, hear," and laughter.) With reference to Mr. Wedderburn's remarks about the rendering of land, cattle, implements, &c., open to seizure for debt, he desired to make an observation. Agrarian disorders arose because the ryots were not protected. The Mutiny was at once taken advantage of by the cultivators to rise against those into whose power they had fallen through our system: the main point in which we had injured them being the making of land amenable to barter and sale. By making the land saleable, and allowing the culti-

vators to be driven from their occupation by others who wished to take their place, and who had no idea of such a thing before, much discontent was created. In former days—before this state of things was allowed—the money-lender was not so much a money-lender as the purse-keeper of the village or community, joining hand in hand with the people. True, he supplied them with money; but when there were bad seasons he stayed by the village, because upon its prosperity depended his own prosperity. But the moment you alter the status of the money-lender by allowing him to take the land from the borrower, you create dissension between parties who were before in a state of mutual dependence. So much, then, for the power of protecting the ryot; and with regard to the Insolvency suggestion made by Mr. Wedderburn, he, for one, most strenuously opposed it, and, in the first place, contended that until we have got a decent Insolvency Law in England we had better leave the matter entirely alone in India. (Hear, hear.) Such a law in India would mean that the agriculturist there must give up his land before he goes free; but if once you take away his land, you might just as well destroy him altogether. An agriculturist in India is an agriculturist, and nothing else; he cannot turn to any other occupation or trade; and if you deprive him of his land, you deprive him of employment and of everything that makes life worth having. He (the speaker) had served in the Punjab, and there both cattle and land had been protected. No land could be sold without the sanction of the chief Courts, and those who exercised authority in them were men who held strong political views. Perhaps they were wrong, but they held them, nevertheless. They held also that the ordinary theory of political economy was not good, and applications for the sale of land in discharge of debts were almost invariably refused. The result was that the land had not been sold, and the condition of the people was better in consequence. How long that would be continued he would not pretend to say, but he was afraid that if the rules of political economy must be observed, there would be agrarian disorders. There was a great deal said about making money cheap and money dear by the adoption of certain methods, but he did not think the money-lenders would be affected. There were more of the money-lending class than could find occupation for their money, and they must lend on whatever terms they can get; and they would continue to lend their money willingly as long as they had the security that the land would remain in the possession of the holders to whom they made advances, knowing that by the prosperity of the land-holders their own prosperity would be secured. In the Native States land was not saleable, but descends

from father to son. Well, money was not rendered dearer there by this fact than in States where the sale of land in satisfaction of debt is ordered by the Courts daily. In conclusion, the speaker reverted to the Pancháyat question, and said that if they were to be resuscitated, it must be on the distinct understanding that all cases involving the question of small sums should be finally dealt with by them, or else they would be useless. With reference to the cases decided by Pancháyat, Mr. Wedderburn had mentioned the number of 3,000 suits as having been decided in this way; but it should still be borne in mind that these were not all cases which would have come into the Law Courts had the Pancháyat or Arbitration Court not existed.

Mr. R. B. SWINTON remarked that the most important part of the paper they had heard was the statement that 3,000 suits are reported to have been disposed of by private settlement since 1876 in the Poona Arbitration Court. An examination into the constitution of this Court, and into the origin and nature of these suits, and the final execution of their decrees—it has been said that in the ordinary Courts a suit only begins after decree—would be interesting. He was afraid it would turn out to be a “fond thing vainly invented.” It may for a time be the case that the benevolence, skill, and local personal influence of some Native gentleman might be used largely to compose differences in an informal way; but it is quite a different matter when a system is set up, and eighty-two minds have to administer it alongside of the regular existing Courts of the country. As to Pancháyats generally, he would prefer to agree with the author of the paper that they were practicable, but, whatever might be done in some quite new part of the country, he thought it impossible to rehabilitate them in parts that have already long been under us. Upon turning to the word Pancháyat in Wilson’s Glossary—some of the English nation whom it is hoped to interest might suppose it to be a new sort of manure for fields—he found that eminent scholar and historian saying of the Pancháyat, and this was written nearly thirty years ago, “There are now few occasions on which this sort of assembly is spontaneously had recourse to, or in which its judgments are regarded as decisive; and this notwithstanding great pains have been taken by the British Government to render it effective.” Not being practically acquainted with the Bombay Regulations, he might be wrong, but did not notice in a short search that any regulation existed for the use of Pancháyats, and the author of the paper did not refer to any; and the only regulation in the Bengal Code VI. of 1832 is to enable a Judge to refer civil matters after they have once come into his Court, the decision resting with him. Sir George Malcolm, as is to be

found in his Memoir of Central India, elaborated a plan for introducing them into Central India, but they seem intended to have been the Courts of the country, and not to be subsidiary to English-made Courts. In the Madras Presidency, the use of Panchayats in civil suits formed the subject of Regulations of 1816, and for the settlement of agrarian disputes between individuals, of a Regulation of 1822 (since repealed), both truly being recommended by the best of our Indian administrators, Munro; but they were not found to work. Perhaps the official classes did not like them, and as individual liberty grew, the people would not submit to them, and so they fell into complete disuse. The reader of the paper had some pointed remarks about existing Courts. It has been said, "Scrape a Russian, you get the Tartar," and so with the Indian up-country judicial officer, who began more than twenty years ago ; his robe soon comes off him, and the captain or revenue officer appears, with love for a rough and ready justice. He (the speaker) referred to some remarks in the paper about all the rules of evidence and formal pleadings being in the way of getting at the real merits of the case. As to the first part of the paper, the advantage of the ryot being steadily in debt, if not too much so, he had hardly turned it over in his mind. He did not think that in the South there was that sharp division between money-lender and ryot; all ryots who have any money lend it. If he might be allowed a minute or two, again, he omitted to say, that while regarding Panchayats as hopeless—that is, when systematized—there are improvements to be desired in the existing Courts. Court stamp fees are too high, and stamp-duties generally too elaborate and extensive ; the period of limitation might be much abridged, and certain classes of actions entirely disallowed—it has just been found in England that one description may be cut off—arrears of suits forbidden to accumulate, and judges not often changed. He entirely concurred with Mr. Wedderburn upon the benefits of a properly managed compulsory registration, and wished we had had it many years ago.

Sir T. DOUGLAS FORSYTH said it might be interesting to the meeting to know that the remedy suggested by Mr. Wedderburn had in almost every detail been tried in one part of the Punjab ; and as he had something to do with introducing it there, he might say something as to its operation. In the district to which he referred there was one class of disputes which caused considerable trouble and misery amongst the people, arising as it did out of a singular marriage system which prevailed. It included a singular system of betrothal, entailing an enormous expenditure, which involved many families in ruin. Out of this custom a number of suits arose which were constantly being brought

before the Civil Courts; and in 1852 it was proposed to introduce a system almost identical with that proposed by Mr. Wedderburn. This system was continued until 1866, and it succeeded remarkably well. It was supervised by officers in the way that Mr. Wedderburn proposed —viz., by officers going about the district, looking up the cases, to see that the Pancháyat had not been unduly biased by party feeling, which was the danger to which the system was especially exposed. Just after the Mutiny, when the officers were too much engaged to continue the supervision, complaints were made that the Pancháyats were going on wrongly, and taking bribes. Colonel Lake, who was then Commissioner, then took the matter up, and brought about a different state of things. So it went on; and when he (the speaker) went back to the district in 1866, he was glad to find these Village Councils doing their work tolerably well. But, unfortunately, about that time the Civil Code was introduced, and those in favour of the Pancháyat system fell foul of the chief Courts, and although they struggled hard for them, they were swept away. The only way to revive them effectively would be to go to the Government, and get a legislative enactment for the purpose. He was personally so much impressed with their value that he did press the subject and made inquiries, but was told that it would not do for one part of the Empire to be specially dealt with, and so the matter dropped. He hoped, now, however, that Mr. Wedderburn had brought the matter forward, that it would be taken up in a proper spirit, because it was a great evil that matters should be litigated in the Courts when past experience proved that numbers of the suits could be amicably settled, and in a most satisfactory manner, by the Pancháyat. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. RUSTOMJEE VICCAJEE was very much struck with the admirable address, and the way in which the claims of the Pancháyat had been brought forward. He feared, however, that it would remain only as a suggestion, unless the idea were warmly taken up by the Association. The East India Association had done much good for India, as their reports would show, and he relied upon them, therefore, to take care that the subject of the discussion that day, having been so well dealt with, should have their advocacy, and that they would strive to secure acceptance of those sound principles of safety and cheap justice upon which the foundation of the British Empire in a great measure rests. Any one who knew the people of India would know that they felt that the present system of administering justice was oppressive, and that a return to the system of the Pancháyat would be welcomed by the people, and be the means of promoting a better feeling throughout the country.

Colonel RATHBORNE then rose and said that every speaker, with the exception of one, had heartily concurred with Mr. Wedderburn as to the value of the Panchayat. It was notorious that persons would go into the Civil Courts and lie and swear, whereas, under the Panchayat system, they would tell the truth. When he (the speaker) was in Scinde, there were frequent disputes about land, and he would say to one of the disputants, "Will you swear by your beard that you are in 'the right?'" The other disputant would then reply, "I agree. Let 'Mahomed touch his beard, and I will be satisfied;" and when he (Colonel Rathborne) invited him to do so, the Native replied, "I didn't come to 'swear by my beard; I came to take advantage of your Civil Court." (Laughter.) In former times the revenue for the land was taken in kind, and when a cultivator had raised his crop, he would go to the Government officer and hand over the share that was fixed, and there the transaction ended. Now the land revenue is taken in money, and it follows that every year the Government officer comes and demands cash. That in itself occasions considerable difficulty, for they, in consequence, become victims to the Banian, who knows that the money must be had. Some Banians are conscientious, others are usurers all over, doing everything but that which is honourable and right. These men take advantage of the necessity of poor ryots, and charge interest which it is utterly impossible for the ryot to pay; and then, when he makes default, recourse is had to the Civil Courts, which, no matter how usurious the interest that has been charged, say to the ryot, "You must 'pay it," instead of protecting the ryot, as the Court of Chancery would protect a young Oxford student, and prevent the enforcement of an usurious bargain; saying to the lender, "You shall be paid a reasonable "interest, but must go somewhere else to enforce usurious claims." If the Courts of India would refuse to enforce bargains of that character, a great deal of the difficulty between money-lenders and cultivators would cease altogether. The speaker then remarked that he entirely concurred in the observations of the lecturer about the position of the money-lender. Whether he be a banker or not, he is as much dependent upon the borrower to get interest for his money, as the borrower is upon the lender for his advances; and if the lender found he could not get 50 per cent. for his money, he would reduce the rate of interest rather than lose his business and let his money remain unproductive. If these matters could be dealt with by the Government of India, most of the difficulties now existing would cease. (Hear, hear.)

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN, Bart., said he merely wished to state one fact, to show the great interest taken in Western India in the

Pancháyat system. Only about a year since he was present at a large meeting at Tannah, which was composed of educated Hindus and Parsees, and was held for the purpose of establishing a Lawád, or Court of Arbitration, to be conducted in the way the lecturer had described. He could testify to the fact that the greatest unanimity prevailed as to the principle, and it was resolved that the establishment of these Courts of Arbitration would be of great benefit to the community. He simply wished to bear witness to the great interest which was taken in the matter by the enlightened and influential inhabitants of the Bombay Presidency.

Mr. K. M. DUTT said that the Pancháyat system was existing still in many districts of Bengal, and it decided many thousands of cases. The real meaning of the Pancháyat was five sitting together in council ; but now, in some places, one man, the elder of a village, was nominated by the parties interested. Had that not been the case, he was perfectly sure that the present number of judicial officers would not have sufficed for the decision of the cases that arise in different parts of India. The question that presented itself was, how was it possible to give a legal sanction to the decisions of these Pancháyat Courts, so that they should be made binding ? In such cases as a question of boundary of land in a village, no Judge was in such a good position to decide as a gentleman connected with the village ; and if a regulation could be passed in the Legislative Councils of the different provinces that certain classes of cases should be first investigated in the Village Pancháyat, there would be a greater chance of justice being done than by the present complicated judicial machinery in India. With regard to the money-lenders, it was true that there were many who charged 50 and 60 per cent., but then, on the other hand, in many cases, the zemindars themselves advance money to the ryots, and do not charge more than 10 or 12 per cent. In the latter places the ryots are found in a prosperous condition. Money-lending, he understood, was more prevalent in Bombay and Madras than elsewhere in India ; and the system had been compared by the lecturer to that of labour and capital in England. He (the speaker), however, failed to see the similarity between the two things. He remarked, however, that in England many disputes were settled by arbitration, such as cases of contracts to supply certain goods or to do certain work, and thus litigation was avoided. In the same way, there were cases constantly occurring in India which might be settled in the like fashion, and which would be a saving of expense to the litigants, and a surety, at the same time, for the better administration of justice in India.

Lord REAY said he had heard with great interest the remarks made by the lecturer and some of the speakers relative to the tenure of land, and could adduce some particulars of the way in which land was treated by the Government in Java, which he thought would support some of the views expressed. The Liberal party in the Dutch Second Chamber, to which he had had the honour to belong, had always urged that titles for the ownership or tenancy of land should be given to Natives, but, at the same time, that the right of the holders to dispose of their lands should be restricted, so that the power of sale to others than Natives should not follow as a natural result. Natives in Java are either the owners or the hereditary tenants of the soil, where the village settlement, which is still widely prevalent, does not exist. In neither case are they, as a rule, allowed to sell to others than Natives. When owners, they may let to others than Natives for not more than twenty years; when hereditary tenants, for not more than five years. Mortgages without a clause of foreclosure are allowed, but the provisions restricting the sale of land to Natives only discourage mortgages. It must be remembered that in Java Natives are hardly ever capitalists. The object of the Liberal party is to secure to the Native individual rights in the soil as opposed to the joint ownership of the village community (*dessa*), and the constant change of individual tenure—conditions which do not attract capital to the soil. The Native must first be taught, by individual tenure and by improved agriculture, what his land is worth before he can be allowed to part with it to non-Native land speculators, who would be only too ready to avail themselves of this primitive state of things. As regarded the other point, breach of contract, a long and interesting debate took place in the Second Chamber upon the subject, especially as to whether a man should be open to criminal prosecution for breach of contract. The arguments in favour of such a course appeared to be strong, regard being had to the insufficiency of civil remedies; but the Second Chamber decided against it. When a Native's labour is hired, money is very often paid in advance, and the employer recoups himself by a deduction from the Native's wages. The difficulty to be met, of course, consists in a subsequent refusal on the part of the Native to fulfil the contract, while at the same time he retains the advance. As it is difficult to get a contract for labour without such an advance, the question is one of vast importance, as bearing on the solidity of the relations between capital and labour without having recourse to penal stipulations. He thoroughly concurred in the statements of the lecturer on the importance of encouraging the application of capital to the land; and these observations also applied to Java. It is not easy to solve the problem which

arises when the only security which the Native can afford to give for the discharge of his debts is of such a nature that generally the loss of that security entails utter destitution. A system of efficient registration of contracts, scrutinized by Government officials, might prove beneficial, with the object of preventing capital from being lent on inadequate securities. He considered that in this way, or in some similar way, capital should obtain guarantees, so that the risk of loss being diminished, the terms of lending might, as a result, be more satisfactory. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. WEDDERBURN, in reply, remarked that the main points he had desired to enforce were those in favour of conciliation and arbitration, and he thought that the speakers present generally concurred in the suggestions he had made. The objections that had been raised he had brought upon himself by travelling out of his direct line of argument, but he had referred to these other matters with the view of showing what the whole scheme involved. He also, in regard to these matters, simply stated his views without supporting them by argument or modification, which might have removed some objections. With reference to the Panchayat, he was glad to find that in Ceylon the system was at work; in proof of which he referred the audience to the following, which lately appeared in the *Globe*: "A system of local government, judicial and administrative, exists in one of our principal colonies which very closely resembles the old patriarchal method which prevailed amongst the Jews in its original simplicity, and which, in one form or another, is the distinguishing feature in the social arrangements of most races before they have become organized into a nation. The 'Gansabawa,' or 'Village Councils of Ceylon, which are unique among the institutions of modern civilized communities, are a remnant of the ancient Kandyan system of tribal government, adapted to the altered circumstances of the island under British rule. It is the policy of the Government to retain the Native customs as far as it is possible to do so without interfering with the maintenance of order and the necessities of the central authority, and this policy has in no instance been attended with better results than in the institution of Village Councils. According to the latest returns, thirty-one of these bodies are in full working order, all presided over by minor headmen, bandas, or 'mudaliyars,' chosen from among the respectable Native gentlemen, who are assisted by Native clerks or writers, and other subordinate officers. The cases brought before these Courts refer chiefly to questions of debt, petty theft, assault, breaches of the village rules, and similar offences; and last year nearly 55,000 of these charges were adjudicated upon by

"the Councils. The number appears rather alarming, but it seems that so easy, rapid, and satisfactory are the means of settling petty disputes afforded by the 'Gansabawa,' that the Natives have recourse to them for many matters which they otherwise would settle 'outside the Courts.' There is an appeal from these inferior Courts to the Government Agents, and thence to the Governor in Council ; but the right of appeal is rarely exercised, only 740 cases having been referred to the Government Agent out of the 55,000 heard before the Village Councils, and of these only 165 were set aside. From the Agent to the Governor in Council there were only twelve appeals, and in each case the Agent's decision was upheld. These facts seem to show both the advantages and disadvantages of a cheap and ready judicial system, easily accessible to the poorer classes. The whole annual cost of the thirty-one Councils barely exceeds 5,000!."

The CHAIRMAN, in closing the meeting, said that he had the satisfaction of knowing that the speakers had been all but unanimous in approving the general principles underlying Mr. Wedderburn's lecture, if he might except that part which treated of the advantages of debt. It was perfectly true that at this moment—as had been stated by Mr. Dutt—an enormous amount of business is transacted by the means of private Panchayat of one kind or another. What was required, however, was that the Panchayat should be legalized and recognized ; and Sir Douglas Forsyth had explained the difficulties that occurred because this authority was absent. He (the Chairman) hoped that the Legislature of India would devise some plan for the purpose of making these Panchayats legal, not only instruments of procedure, but judges of the law as well as of the fact. The Courts would certainly be much relieved thereby. The meeting was much indebted to Lord Reay for his contribution of information as to the state of things in Java. His (the speaker's) own opinion upon the subject of land was, that while we give titles to land, they should be limited, and not of such an absolute character as to allow of the holder passing them in any way he or his creditor pleases. Then, again, with reference to the registration of contracts, to which Lord Reay had alluded ; in India there was a very extensive system by which this was done ; and he approved of it, because by this means you insure genuineness to the contract. How far literal execution is given to the contract, and how far equitable considerations should intervene, were, however, matters for further consideration. In the case of the ryot, the question arose whether you are bound by the letter, or are justified in looking beyond the letter of the contract ; and in this connection he was afraid the Indian Courts were swayed by too much law and

too little equity. (Hear, hear.) By the introduction of an extensive system of Panchayat, he believed that the law might be administered more equitably, and more in accordance with Native ideas, and consequently to the advantage of our rule in India. (Hear, hear.) The Chairman concluded by moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Wedderburn, which being carried,

Mr. GEORGE FOGGO moved, and Sir DOUGLAS FORSYTH seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman, with which the proceedings terminated.

JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.-

The Employment of Indian Troops in Europe.

PAPER BY GEORGE FOGGO, Esq.

(*Late Member of the Bombay Legislative Council.*)

READ AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, JUNE 26, 1878.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERIC J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I.,
IN THE CHAIR.

A LARGE and influential meeting of the members and friends of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Wednesday afternoon, June 26th, 1878; the subject for consideration being "The Employment of Indian Troops in Europe," introduced in an address by George Foggo, Esq., late Member of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Major-General Sir FREDERIC J. GOLDSMID, C.B. and K.C.S.I., occupied the chair; and amongst those present were the following: Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, General Sir George Malcolm, K.C.B., Major-General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I., General Orfeur Cavenagh, General D. Simpson, Major-General E. A. H. Bacon, Major-General George McAndrew, Major-General Harry Rivers, R.E., Colonel Arbuthnot, M.P., Colonel M. S. Green, C.B., Colonel Keith Jopp, Colonel C. F. Le Hardy, Colonel Therry, Colonel H. W. Wood, Major Candy, R.A., Major Vanderjee, Captain W. C. Palmer, Captain Ruddiman, Rev. H. M. Ingram, Rev. James Long, Rev. M. MacColl, Rajah Rampul Singh, Mr. Alexander Allan, Mr. A. Arathoon, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Mr. George Bain, Mr. Robert Bain, Mr. E. Balfour, Mr. H. M. Blair, Mr. Thomas Briggs, Mr. A. F. Brown, Mr. Peer Bukhsh, Mr. Alfred Burton, Mr. Dadabhoy Byramjee, Mr. Pestonjee Byramjee,

Mr. F. S. Chapman, B.C.S., Mr. H. C. Dinshaw, Mr. J. E. Lorington, Mr. J. T. Dorington, Mr. H. A. Eglinton, Mr. Robert H. Elliot, Mr. H. Evans, Mr. A. Foggo, Mr. Edward Franks, Mr. P. Pirie Gordon, Mr. James Hutton, Mr. R. W. Graham, Mr. Campbell Keir, Mr. R. Limjee, Mr. E. Lyon, Mr. William Maitland, Mr. H. Man, Mr. Edmund Neel (India Office), Mr. George Nundy, Mr. R. K. Pinson, Mr. John Rutherford, Mr. P. M. Tait, Mr. William Tayler, Mr. W. C. A. Taylor, Mr. Hormusjee Nusserwanjee Vakeel, Mr. Rustomjee Viccjee, Mr. Edward J. Wade, Mr. W. Wedderburn, B.C.S., Mr. Nusserwanjee D. Fracis, Mr. Dady Manoekjee Limjee, Mr. Abdul Haleem, Mr. Abdul Hossan Khan, Mr. Sapoorjee Jewajee, Mr. Bhicajee Nowrojee Pollonjee, Mr. Dorabjee Cursetjee Shroff, &c., &c. .

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said it seemed somewhat out of character for him to introduce Mr. Foggo to the meeting. Mr. Foggo should rather, perhaps, introduce him, a comparative stranger, and not a member of the Association. He took, however, the opportunity of stating that there was no lack, on his part, of interest in the subjects debated at their meetings, but lack of time to attend them. He found that retirement from the service did not mean cessation of work, for he was harder worked now than in the thirty or thirty-five years he had spent in the East. He mentioned this to show that his failure to become a member of the Association was from no desire to shirk the ventilation of Indian subjects, which were as interesting to him new as they ever were. The subject upon which Mr. Foggo would speak was a very interesting one, and no doubt what he had to say upon it would be interesting to his hearers. He (the Chairman) had not had time to read the paper, having only received it on the previous evening; but he would ask Mr. Foggo to proceed without further preliminary, adding his conviction that those present would not be disappointed in their anticipation of an important discussion. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GEORGE FOGGO then proceeded to read the following paper :—

I need hardly observe that, in offering to read before the Association a paper on this subject, I did not lay claim to any special qualifications for the duty ; but, finding that one or two gentlemen who were well qualified to deal with the question, at least in its military aspect, had declined to come forward, I thought it a pity that the opportunity for the discussion of so important and interesting a subject should be lost, and thereupon volunteered my services. Hence my appearance before you to-day.

It is natural, and it is a well-established habit, with Englishmen, in all questions of public importance, to look for and to expect, at the proper time, a declaration of opinion from their leaders. It is so in politics, foreign and domestic ; and it is much to be desired, I think, that it should be so in questions of importance and interest affecting the welfare of India and her connection with England. But where are the leaders of the Anglo-Indian community ? For the most part, they are silent and make no sign. Whatever the merits of the Council of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India—and that they are many and great I have no shadow of doubt—the function of guiding and informing public opinion on questions of Anglo-Indian interest is certainly not among them, not in the slightest degree from any fault of theirs, but because, by their position and by the conditions of their appointment—by Act of Parliament, in fact—they are precluded from expressing their opinion in, and I suppose equally out, of Parliament—at least at such a time and in such a manner as to guide public opinion in the degree that their characters and positions would otherwise enable them to do.

I am not about to discuss, on the present occasion, all the advantages and disadvantages of such a system ; but so much as this I will say, as bearing on the subject, that it does seem, *prima facie*, a pity, to use no stronger term, that the opinions and views of so many distinguished men—the élite, probably, of the military, political, and other branches of the Services—should, by the conditions of their position, be absolutely lost to the public ; their opinions and views, whether for or against any measure, however grave and however momentous, being absolutely unknown beyond the India Office or the Government until long after the event, when the good or evil has worked its way, and when such opinions and views may chance to appear before a Commission of Inquiry or a Committee of one or both Houses of Parliament.

Former Viceroys and Governors, moreover—those, I mean, who are happily still spared to us—are equally silent, fearful perhaps of weakening the hands of Her Majesty's Government in the present position of foreign affairs, and whilst such very delicate negotiations are supposed to be in progress, or for other good and weighty reasons.

One or two of our Anglo-Indian statesmen, who happen to be in Parliament, have, indeed, frankly given their opinions in the course of the recent debates, and those opinions, or the substance of them, I shall lay before you in the course of the present paper.

Deprived thus, in great measure, of their natural leaders, what are, so to speak, the rank and file of the Anglo-Indian community to do on such an occasion as the present, wishing, as they naturally do, to discuss a question of so much interest both from a political and military point of

view? Why, we must endeavour to do the best that we can without our leaders. There are, however, I hope, in this room many gentlemen of great and matured experience in Indian service who will be ready to favour us with their views. If the discussions of this Association are open to the charge of unreality, and of being unpractical, nothing but expressions of opinion having no practical result, such qualities may not impossibly be just now considered a recommendation, weak nerves being in fashion, and mere discussion looked upon with more favour even in other places than the more practical conclusion of pressing the motion to a division.

I shall endeavour, in this paper, to avoid all reference to the party aspect of the question, and to limit myself as far as possible—it may not be altogether possible—to the consequences of the measure, if fully carried out, on the permanent welfare both of India and of England.

My main object being to set forth and to elicit the opinions of others rather than to obtrude my own, I commence by placing before you some of the utterances that have lately appeared, and I will first take those that approve of the movement.

To begin with Sir George Campbell, who perhaps may be taken to approve of the policy, with qualifications. "He confessed that, as an "old Indian, he had not been altogether unfavourable to the idea of "trying Indian soldiers, to relieve something of the military strain on "our population, for some kinds of service. Such a measure would be "justifiable in two cases: first, either as an experiment made at a "fitting time and under fitting conditions; and secondly, when our "resources were strained to the utmost by a great war, and we must "have recourse to all the men and means we could command, from what- "ever quarter derived. Now, the despatch at present of a few regiments "from India could hardly be treated as more than an experiment, and he "did not think this was a fitting time for making such an experiment. "He suspected that such high-flown phrases as that the Hindus looked "upon the measure as throwing lustre on their race, and that the Native "Army were enthusiastic about it, were very much exaggerated. At "the same time he did not doubt that they had a substratum of fact. "The Sepoys were a very practical people. What they looked to was "the pay and the loot they were likely to get; and he had no doubt the "very liberal terms offered sufficed to bring them away from India very "well pleased. But let the House not deceive itself; and he warned the "Government that the terms on which we were served by our Indian "Sepoy troops were such that we dare not order them off on foreign "service as we would an English regiment, and that we must, in one "shape or another, bribe them to go. That was, in fact, what we had

" done." Supposing some 7,000 Native troops, all told—a mere bagatelle " from a European point of view—had been despatched from India; that " force would be enough intensely to irritate Russia, and to induce other " Powers to look askance at us, but not enough to give effect to our own " (British) troops in case of war. They were good enough troops in " some ways, but would be unable to cope with Europeans. Probably, " in the 7,000 men who had been ordered to Malta it would not be " possible to find more than two battalions, the 31st Punjaubis and the " 2nd Goorkhas, fit for European warfare, but they would be thoroughly " good and well-officered troops. There was also a small force of " cavalry, which, however useful it might some day prove itself, would " be meanwhile excessively expensive. Again, it was another objection " to the action of Government that we had no absolute right to bring " troops through the Suez Canal. Hitherto we had done so on sufferance; " and if we were to establish our right of transit for our soldiers, we " should not only offend Russia, but should create a dangerous precedent, " which other nations might possibly use for hostile purposes. A much " better course would be to neutralize the Canal. The expense of " transporting and maintaining the Native troops would be very consi- " derable. In India, the Native soldier received about 10*l.* per annum, " and was not expensively paid, but the men selected for despatch to " Malta would be very differently treated, and would receive not only " the *batta*, or extra allowance for foreign service, but also a free kit, free " rations, and free quarters. They would thus be all found, and have a " clear cash payment of one shilling a day, while no European soldier " received so much. Then there was the expense of transport to be " considered; and the House would remember that the Indians would " require more camp followers than Europeans did, that their cookery " was a less simple affair, and that the voyage was a longer and more " expensive one than from England to Malta. But, supposing that the " first experiment encouraged us to bring Indian troops to Europe in " such numbers that they might be seriously effective, he would still " contend that the policy of doing so would not be justified by " the result. The Native Army consisted of 120,000 men, all told, " and from these it would be necessary to deduct great numbers for " guard and garrison duty all over India, so that hardly more than " 20,000 or 30,000 men would be available. There were no reserves, " as service was for life; and if it were necessary to treat India as a " recruiting ground, it would be found that the manufacture of soldiers " would be a very long process, and that the recruits would literally " have to be taken from the plough-tail. No doubt, when we first " occupied India, the country swarmed with soldiers, but that state of

" things had entirely passed away, and we could only picture to ourselves
 " the condition of India in that respect by imagining the state of
 " England without the Militia and the Reserves and the Volunteers.
 " In time, if liberal terms were offered, a very large number of recruits
 " would be obtained, but they were not immediately available, and would
 " be very expensive. A great objection to any very considerable increase
 " in the number of Native troops was the difficulty of getting rid of
 " them when they were done with. It would be necessary either to
 " maintain them, or to give them a bonus and disband them. The
 " former course was bad for economical reasons, and the latter for
 " political. He came, then, to the conclusion that we had in one part of
 " India a reserve of men who might be very useful in the course of a
 " long struggle, but whose services could not be rendered effectively in
 " other circumstances, and would not be justified by the attainment of
 " any secondary object."

Sir G. Campbell, in some remarks subsequently made by him on the Committee of the House of Commons which sat in 1867, has expressed an opinion that the result of a further inquiry at the present time would be more favourable to the employment of Native troops out of India, with special reference to the short-service system and the introduction of the Army Reserves. He considered that so far the experiment had been successful; that the troops had come forward willingly; that they were not the half-savages that some had supposed, and that they might be trusted to serve in any part of Her Majesty's dominions; that they might, a few of them, even come "home," that we might see them and they might see us; that we should like them pretty well, and that they would like us; and that an honorary detachment might even be brought to do duty at Aldershot, and to attend Her Majesty. An officer from Dublin has also lately written to the *Times*: "Malta is soon exhausted; "England is only a few days' sail from thence, and no doubt many of "the Native troops imagine that island to be part of England. Could "it be managed that so soon as Eastern affairs are settled peacefully, "and before the Native troops return to India, a certain number of private "soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and Native officers should be brought "to England, stationed in London, permitted to visit Aldershot, Windsor, "the Tower, and some of the large manufacturing towns and seaports, "and, above all, be received by Her Majesty? The expense to the "public would be small, the men would return to their homes amply "rewarded for all they have undergone, and prouder than ever of their "Empire and the great Empress."

Mr. Laing observed "that though it was no doubt technically the "same thing to send a body of troops from Bombay to Malta as to send

" a division from Gibraltar to Malta, these matters ought to be looked at broadly. So looking at them, and speaking on the strength of his Indian experience, he said that the issue raised was a most momentous one, and that the despatch of Indian troops to Malta was the first step towards a reversal of the policy which had been acted on by our great statesmen in the past, and that it was fraught with the greatest danger to our Indian Empire. In India, danger was from within, and not from without. He did not deny that our Indian forces were perfectly loyal, and ready to go on foreign service. The danger was not from any active disloyalty, but there was a great variety of races in India who were liable to be swayed by feelings with which we were only imperfectly acquainted ; and the old regimental system, under which the European officers were, so to speak, the fathers of the regiment, having been broken up, it behoved us to maintain a very firm military hold on India. Now, our hold on India would be seriously endangered if we removed our Native troops from the garrison duty they were performing, and transformed them into a powerful army, with a martial and roving spirit. A much larger number of European officers would be required to keep them in check than at present, and the strength of our European Army in India would also have to be increased, so as not to tempt the Native troops to rise against us by allowing them to feel that they were stronger than we. The result would be an enormous increase in the financial burdens of India. Again (he says) economy in India meant military reduction. Civil establishments grew inevitably with the progress of the country ; therefore it was the first duty of the Government of India to keep its military establishments down to the lowest figure possible. Altogether, it was a complete revolution in policy ; and before we reversed the policy laid down by Lord Canning and others, we ought to inquire what the last Governor-General thought of it, and what a still greater authority, Lord Lawrence, thought of it."

Having thus presented you with these opinions of men more or less eminent, and whose views deserve every consideration, I will endeavour to summarize as impartially as I can the supposed advantages and disadvantages of the step. I will take the advantages first. They are supposed to be :—

1. To relieve in some measure the military strain on our own people for some kinds of service ;
2. To cement the bonds of union between the people of India and the people of England ;
3. To call forth and demonstrate the loyal spirit of the Indian Native Army ;

4. To immensely increase the military power of the United Kingdom, seeing that her fighting force in Europe would no longer be confined to British or even to European troops;
5. To show to the Native troops the greatness and power of England.

The supposed disadvantages, on the other hand, are :—

1. The inadequacy of 7,000 men to do more than irritate any European Power to whom they are opposed;
2. Different degrees of efficiency and fitness for the work of the different regiments sent;
3. That the troops, being so highly paid, may, in fact, be considered "bribed" to go;
4. The political complications that may ensue in consequence of the Suez Canal being made use of in a way that was never contemplated;
5. The great expense attendant on transporting and maintaining even so small a force as 7,000 men in a Mediterranean station;
6. The recruiting difficulty in India;
7. The difficulty of getting rid of the troops when done with, supposing larger forces to be raised and sent;
8. Increase of power obtained by the troops, by the increase of their knowledge, by perceiving that they are wanted, and by their increased numbers, supposing again larger forces to be raised and sent;
9. Objections on the ground of expense; generally.

In a concise record of the services of the Indian Native Armies beyond seas I find it stated that the Madras, Bombay, and Bengal Armies have been employed beyond seas from the earliest period of our connection with India. The Madras Army has garrisoned Amboyna, Ceylon, Ava, Mauritius, the Straits Settlements, or Malacca, Java, Burmah, and China; the Bombay Army has been employed in Aden, China, Scinde, and Abyssinia; and the Bengal Army in Egypt, Java, China, Ava, and Abyssinia. This is the first time any of them have been in Europe.

In considering the arguments *pro* and *con.*, the advantages and disadvantages of the step, I have found it quite impossible to regard the despatch of these 7,000 Native troops from Bombay to Malta as the despatch of these 7,000 men only. Were that the whole matter, and were it there to end, it would scarcely be worth any man's serious consideration, except a moment's approval or disapproval, according as his turn of mind and his political opinions, or prejudices, inclined him to

regard favourably or unfavourably a *coup de théâtre*, a startling move, or a desire to humiliate or irritate a great and ambitious military Power that is supposed to require a lesson. But it is as an experiment—in other words, as a step incomplete in itself, but to be followed up, if occasion require, and if practicable, by similar action upon a great scale—that the step itself assumes its serious, I may almost say its momentous, character, far-reaching in its consequences both to the welfare of England and India.

You will have seen above what those who know India and her Native Army well have said about the loyalty and other less worthy feelings that may or may not influence these troops; and to others in this room, equally well or better acquainted with them, I would in a great degree desire to leave the discussion on these and kindred points. There are many minds likewise to which such arguments as that of gratifying the troops by personal attentions and consideration, such as a review by Her Majesty or by H.R.H. the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, not to mention other proposals of the same character, have much weight. Others may consider such arguments as made for the occasion, as of an *ex post facto* kind; whether soaring as high as when, in a recent lecture by a gallant and distinguished officer, we are told that the employment of Native troops on behalf of India in Europe will tend to cement together the bonds of the severed branches of the great Aryan race; or, when in a lower flight, we are recommended in another quarter to turn our attention to mutual spectacular purposes—such is the phrase—to see them and let them see us, and not to forget to take them, as we do children and strangers, to all the sights that London and our other great cities can show.

I have said that I am quite unable to consider only the questions that would arise from the despatch of these 7,000 men, *per se*, and I find that the step was lately looked upon in a similar way in India, on its being divulged. Remarks, too, were made in one or more of the leading Anglo-Indian newspapers as to Egypt or Syria being more probably the destination of the troops than Malta. Malta, it was said, would, in the event of war, naturally be garrisoned by English Militia regiments, as formerly; that the despatch of cavalry and field artillery betokened "an expeditionary force; and that the 7,000 men could only be looked upon as the advance guard of one or more complete army corps to be despatched from India. A great Steamship Company, too, that has long carried the mails between England and India, looks upon the step in the same light, and declares itself ready, due notice being given, to transport 20,000 or 30,000 men per month from India to England by way of the Suez Canal.

But I should have formed in my own mind, and presented to you, a very inadequate view of the question had I limited my attention to the views presented, at the moment, either in Parliament or by the Press. I commenced by lamenting the absence of expressions of opinion from most of those entitled to the confidence of the public on an Anglo-Indian question, but we have already, it must be observed, if we only look back a little, a rich fund of opinion and information. In the year 1867, just eleven years ago, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed "to inquire into the duties performed by the British Army in India and the Colonies, and also to inquire how far it might be desirable to employ certain portions of Her Majesty's Native Indian Army in our colonial and military dependencies, or to organize a force of Asiatic troops for general service in suitable climates." Questions, moreover, were sent to a number of persons in high official positions in India and the Colonies. The Committee reported in April, 1868. The Marquis of Salisbury (then Viscount Cranborne) was its Chairman, and among its members were Mr. Childers, Lord Hartington, Sir H. Rawlinson, and Mr. Laing. Among the witnesses, I find Sir H. Norman, General Pears, the late Sir Hope Grant, Sir George Clerk, Colonel Gordon (of China reputation), H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, the late Sir H. Storks, General Cavenagh, Lord Strathnairn, and General Sir G. Balfour. Those who sent written answers from India and the Colonies were some thirty in number, among them Lord Lawrence, the late Lord Sandhurst, Sir H. Durand, Sir Herbert Edwardes, and Lord Napier of Magdala. I have glanced through the whole of it, and I assure you it is by no means dull reading. More than that, I think the perusal of it can hardly fail of enlarging one's mind on the subject. One thing at least is clear, that the Cabinet had the means of ample knowledge ready to their hand. Whether the step they have taken is in accordance with a well-considered policy, or merely a step dictated by the supposed emergency of the moment, is of course more than I can say.

I will endeavour to summarize as briefly and as fairly as I can the conclusions at which the Committee arrived on the evidence submitted to them. That evidence, you will observe, had reference not only to Malta and Gibraltar, but to the employment of the Native Indian Army in the Colonies generally.

The Committee considered that the objection as to the repugnance of the Natives to service beyond seas on religious grounds, does not exist to any great extent at present. They considered the evidence as nearly unanimous on this point. It appears that since 1856 the Indian Government has not accepted the services of any Native recruit

who does not at the time of enlistment distinctly undertake to serve beyond seas, whether within the territories of British India or beyond them. I hope I shall not be considered derogating from the gravity of the subject if I quote Colonel Sir Herbert Edwardes on the prejudices of caste : " As a general remark," he says, " all the races of India dislike " foreign service and crossing the sea, but most of them will go for a " consideration. The high-caste men of Oude and the North-west Pro- " vinces of Bengal refuse, in bodies, to go to sea, as they say it breaks " their caste ; but even these men, as individuals, when enlisted in the " Bombay and Madras Armies and cut off from social prejudices, go " everywhere and do everything with their comrades, though they may " talk a little about it to keep up their own dignity. I have heard a " Madras officer of experience relate his amusement and surprise at " catching a high-caste Hindustanee officer buying ' a sheep's head and " trotters ' in the bazaar in China, because he could no longer stand the " climate without animal food. When laughed at he laughed too, and " said, ' When I get back to Hindustan I can make it all right again " with the Brahmins.' " The Committee considered that the superior economy and fitness of Native Indian troops for serving in such climates as China, Mauritius, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements is generally admitted. The cost of a Native soldier in India is estimated at less than one-half the cost of an English soldier, and by some authorities as low as a quarter. Again, a Native regiment is said to cost 18,000*l.* a year, whereas a British regiment costs 60,000*l.* But the superior cheapness of the Native soldier disappears in a great degree when he is employed out of India. There is the increase of pay, "full batta and rations," say about 66 per cent. over the Native soldier's present pay, at the very least. Moreover, as the pay of English officers is much lower than that received by Indian officers of similar grade, the former must be approximated to the latter whenever Native and British soldiers are serving together. In a colder climate than their own they would require nourishment of a costlier kind—" sheep's heads and trotters," for example. Then the Native soldier must be relieved oftener than the British. Three years' continuous service is the longest that any one recommended, especially in garrison duty, not active service. The necessity of relieving Indian troops every three years would add materially to the cost of their employment. " This difficulty," the Committee reported, " would prevent the use of these troops as an economical expe- " dient in Mediterranean garrisons." Various indeed were the opinions of the eminent men, civil and military, who, before referred to, sent their answers in writing. Sir W. Mansfield " could not conceive any- " thing more strangely impolitic." Sir Robert Napier thought it " good

"as an experimental measure, to train the troops practically, to take "their place with British forces in other than Asiatic fields of warfare." Lord Lawrence "thought the impressions upon the Native mind derived "from a closer view of European institutions would be the reverse of "favourable." Sir R. Temple thought "that they might, after such "service, return home with some notion of our world-wide power." General Hodgson, commanding in Ceylon, considered that "the "substitution of Indian for English troops in our Colonies would "be perfect madness—a moral suicide." Sir W. Merewether was of "opinion that, carried out to a certain extent, it would be a most politic "move."

The Committee went on to say that the military authorities in England were, for the most part, strongly opposed to the proposal, and that those authorities looked upon the substitution of Indian for English troops in the Colonies as likely to lead not to the concentration of the British Army, but to a reduction of its force, of its numbers, that is. Sir Hope Grant put it thus: "It is a matter, in my opinion, of certainty "that whenever you brought European troops home to this country, "the country would cry out, or Parliament would cry out, if there were "more troops than were absolutely necessary for the purposes of the "Government in this country." Similar sentiments were expressed by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge and by Lord Strathnairn.

In the face of those adverse military opinions and of the serious doubts that were thrown upon the financial value of the measures, the Committee thought it would be unwise to make any considerable change in the proposed direction. But they did recommend that Indian soldiers should be more largely used in China, in the Mauritius, in Ceylon, and in the Straits Settlements, where the climates are more or less unsuitable to European constitutions, and whose proximity to India would make the necessity of frequent reliefs unimportant.

But, you will say, what about Malta? Well, those who objected, objected more to Malta and Gibraltar than to places in the East, on various grounds—such as expense; the following of a Native regiment, including wives and families, being so large, as many as 3,000 or 4,000, as to render it quite impossible to transport their families with them. Thus the men would grow discontented, and change their habits for the worse; that they could not live and procure provisions that would suit them; moreover, that the social condition of things around them would be quite unsuited to them, and on numerous other grounds. From a military point of view, it was said that if we had a European war, Malta and Gibraltar are two of the most important places we have, and could be most easily fed with troops from home; and the late Sir H. Storks—who

was at one time, I believe, Governor of Malta—observed that what we wanted there and at Gibraltar was principally artillerymen—the very thing the Native troops are not allowed to be!

The Report of the Committee does not notice Malta or Gibraltar, except on the score of economy, as I have above quoted.

I have now laid before you a considerable quantity of material for forming a judgment upon the question, and I thank you for the patient attention you have given me. I hope in the course of the discussion many points will be brought out more fully and clearly. With such a mass of material, I have found some difficulty in dealing with it in the time and space allowed me, but I look to the discussion to supply all these defects.

In endeavouring to judge of the advantages and disadvantages, the good and the evil results, of the move which has been made, we are met at the outset with our involuntary ignorance of the policy which has dictated it, supposing there to be a policy. Whether the troops have been sent for garrison duty only, whether for an expedition to Egypt, to Syria, or to aid in preserving tranquillity in Asiatic Turkey, and of protecting the Ottoman Empire in that quarter from the danger of Russian extension in that direction, we are, for the time at least, equally in the dark. I have said, if there be a policy; for it sometimes occurs, I think, in public affairs, that action precedes policy instead of following it. Supposing, for example, in the present instance, troops were not to be had at home; troops must be had from India. It was considered dangerous, may be, to bring British troops; so recourse was had to the Natives. Is this part of a scheme for garrisoning all our Colonies partly with Native Indian troops, to the relief of the British, whom it would be desirable, on the score of health, as well as for military reasons, to have nearer home? If so, it is an odd way of beginning it. Or is it a demonstration, or the advance guard of a great Native Army that, if occasion arise, is to follow? The more natural move, to a non-military mind, setting aside for a moment the risk, would seem to be, if troops in Europe are so greatly needed, to have brought home a few thousands of British troops from India, which the highest authorities, even those who most strongly object to the reduction either of our British or Native Army in India, have always said could be spared for a few months' campaign. At this point, and whichever way we regard the move, several important considerations arise. I will name a few that have occurred to me.

What are the real numbers of Native Indian troops available, and, what is very important indeed, suitable for service in Europe, or, shall we add now, in the colder regions of Asia?

What are the relative duties or positions of the two Armies, European and Native, as they exist in British India?

What is the present system of defence in our colonial possessions abroad?

Would it be possible, or would it be wise, to reduce in any great degree the numbers of our Armies in India, European or Native?

Supposing Native Indian troops to be actively employed in Europe or Asiatic Turkey, will it have any bearing on the finances of India?

Will such a policy be ultimately beneficial to India, or the contrary?

What will be the effect in Europe, and on the minds of European Powers?

After a few remarks on these several points, I will conclude the paper.

First, then, as to the numbers available. How far would the increased liability to foreign service interfere with recruiting? At present, though legally liable to serve everywhere, the Native soldier knows that he will rarely be called on to do so out of India. While some authorities speak or write of excellent Native troops whose numbers can be augmented or supplemented at will from the warlike races of the country, others, of equal authority, declare that the warlike races are now few in number, and that such as there were have, for the most part, settled down as agriculturists and traders. Although the Native military service is for life, unless, of course, invalidated or unfit for service, a man can always claim his discharge in time of peace, provided his regiment or troop is not more than ten below its strength. In an emergency, as in the Mutiny, the systems of bounties or commissions to men of influence, who might bring in men, might be again resorted to, but at what an expense! Then, what portion of the Native Army is adapted, on climatic conditions, for service in a cold climate? In the Afghan War, we know very well that the Bengal regiments were disorganized by the severity of the climate. That is a very serious consideration, if some of the Native troops now sent, or likely to be sent, for fear, perhaps, of engendering jealousy among them if left out, should not be suited to the climate in which they are to serve.

On this question of numbers and fitness, for they are inseparable, I have looked anxiously for some information in the documents to which I have had access, and I confess that the result does not impress me with confidence as to the large numbers, even of selected Native soldiers, that we could place in line face to face with the armies of any of the great military Powers of Europe. I have turned especially to the answers of Sir Richard Temple and Lord Napier of Magdala, as being

the most favourable to the changes suggested ten or twelve years ago. Others, like the late Lord Sandhurst, who objected altogether, I will not quote. Now Sir Richard Temple must know India and her people well, and what does he say? He thinks that the substitution of Indian for English troops in our Colonies in time of peace would afford some, though not great, relief to the English Army; that the system could be expanded in time of war, to form an appreciable, though not very considerable, addition to our military resources, and, if the troops were well selected, to add something to our national prestige in the estimation of other military countries. Besides Punjaubee troops, he knows of no races in India adapted for duty at Malta or Gibraltar. By Punjaubees he means not only Sikhs, but Mahomedans, Natives of the Punjab, and especially of the Trans-Indus frontier. Of all these races he thinks most highly; for their soldierly qualities, and for their physical power and endurance; especially, he adds, can they well bear frost and even snow; that they might not equal the Zouaves in time of need, but they would not be much inferior to Turkish troops. But they must be well managed and cared for. And as to European nations, the troops would stand their criticism; and the consideration that there must be plenty more behind might add something to our repute as a military empire. Such are the words of Sir Richard Temple. But are there really more behind? That is the point on which I wish to be satisfied, and, if I can, to satisfy you also. Could Indian troops, the Committee of 1867 inquired of him, be sufficiently relied on for such a service as materially to lighten the strain to which the military resources of Great Britain are subjected in time of war? Now hear and mark his answer. "They "could not be relied on, in such a service, as to materially lighten the "strain to which the military resources of Great Britain are subjected in "time of war. They might do so to some slight extent perhaps. In "time of peace, a total strength of 10,000 or 12,000 Indian troops might "be employed out of India in the places above described. In a general "war with European Powers, the above strength might be increased to "15,000 or 16,000; but this would partly depend on our power and "position at the time. If we were waging a doubtful, or at all a losing "contest in any part of the world, then the case under discussion becomes "altered as regards Indian troops.,,

Lord Napier's opinion appears to have been that by forming a legion of Native troops for foreign (that is, English colonial) service in each Presidency, the Native Army of each Presidency would have, *in course of time*, a number of regiments that had actually served in our Colonies, and others that would be prepared to do so; and that thus, he thought, a valuable contingent of 30,000 to 40,000 men could be rapidly fur-

nished from India, to take their place in the field with a British force, or to reinforce our Colonies, and release a portion of British regiments for home service.

He considered, as I read it, the following races best adapted for service in such climates as South Africa, the Mauritius, China, Malta, Gibraltar, New Zealand : viz., Sikhs, Hindustanees, Mahomedans, Punjab Pathans, Rohillas, North-west Frontier Hill tribes, Goorkhas, Mahrattas.

Now 16,000 men, or say even two divisions, at different places, of 20,000 men each, might form a valuable contingent by the side of British troops ; but what are these numbers, the largest of them, as opposed to the great military Powers of the Continent ? If England is to become, as we are told she is to be, a first-class military Power in Europe, it seems to me, it must be by some other means than these. I see no trace of the inexhaustible recruiting ground of which we have heard so much. If I be wrong on this point, I trust you will set me right. But suppose, for the moment, you can bring into the field, in a European contest, your Native troops in their hundreds of thousands ; would this be prudent in Europe or, say, Asiatic Turkey, any more than in India ? The relative numbers of the European and Native Armies in India were, it may be here mentioned, before the Mutiny, 45,000 Europeans to 280,000 Natives, or more than five to one ; at present, 60,000 Europeans to 125,000 Natives, or, say, two to one.

Then as to the effect in Europe, and on the minds of the great military Powers. Is it so certain that what is called our national prestige would gain in their estimation, and, as a consequence, our power and influence be increased, as some of us so much desire ? Is there not another view ? Might they not say, You depended chiefly on Asiatics to preserve your dominion in India, and now you show us that you are dependent on the same races for the maintenance of your chief garrisons and posts in Europe, or to face us in the field ? Moreover, is not the real state of things in India, whatever it be, already well known to Russia at least, as well, or perhaps better, than to the best informed among ourselves ?

It may be permitted, in passing, just to mention that our system of defence in many of the British possessions abroad is, or at least was a dozen years ago, somewhat peculiar : extended fortifications, with no adequate number of troops (all being British) to man them—troops, intended to defend such possessions in time of war, but as soon as war breaks out elsewhere, for the most part, taken away.

The present relative numbers of the two Armies in India, English and Native, I have given above. I have also already suggested that

if troops were wanted on this side the world, the more natural course would seem to be to bring British troops from India and from the Colonies ; and if our Native troops are so loyal, what danger from them can there be ? Again, by service in the Colonies, the number of Native troops in India would be reduced (the armies of Native chiefs being reduced simultaneously), and the number of British troops in India likewise ; though I am well aware that it is often urged that the latter are not maintained at their present numbers in India to keep watch over the Native Army, as some suppose and contend, but that the two branches of the Indian Army, the European and the Native branches, are fixed according to the duties required of each, and without any connection between the numerical strength of each other. I know likewise the weight of authority there is against reducing the strength of either the European or Native branches, permanently, by a single man. But there are authorities equally weighty, past if not present, on the other side. Sir George Clerk considered 45,000 British troops amply sufficient ; and that if we could not hold India with that force added to our Native Army, we ought to be ashamed of occupying the country at all, and should withdraw from it. Mr. Ross D. Mangles, a former Director of the East India Company, I believe, thought we might strike off 30,000 or 40,000 men from the Native Army and 20,000 from the British troops. Everybody is conquered, he said ; there is no one left to fight with ! Lord Dalhousie, too, though he complained bitterly at one time of the reduction of British troops, considered 35,000 British infantry, or, with cavalry and artillery, say 50,000 British troops, as ample. That was in 1854, two years before the annexation of Oude, but it was also before the main lines of railway connecting the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were completed—so that the three armies could not then, as now, be rendered rapidly and almost equally available in any part of British India—before, also, the overland transit of troops and the opening of the Suez Canal. But what about a Russian invasion of India ? Why, on that point I will just observe that by way of Egypt we can always send troops from England to Bombay and Peshawur much faster—in much less time, that is—than the Russians could march from their frontiers to meet us. But, say the military authorities at the Horse Guards, you will bring home your troops only for Parliament to disband them. Well, then, be it so, and on Parliament, not on the Horse Guards, be the responsibility.

So far as the move we have been considering indicates a warlike policy in the place of a policy of peace, an intervention of Indian troops in foreign quarrels, European or Asiatic, I cannot but consider it must, in the end,

be to the prejudice of India. The wants of India are many and great; peace and a decline in military expenditure, that works of improvement may proceed without hindrance and without distraction, are among the chief. Irrigation and extended communications are as important now as they were six months ago. Surely the teaching of the famine is not so soon forgotten. Let it be remembered that the enthusiasm of the soldiery, and even of the trading and mercantile classes of a Presidency town, is not the enthusiasm of a people—a people whose docile and gentle character in the mass, and their general respect for authority, have so much to do with the success of our rule. Let us not lay upon their shoulders a burden too heavy for them to bear. For, rely upon it, sooner or later, if Great Britain goes to war for the supposed interests of her Indian Empire, Indian taxpayers will be called upon to bear their share, or imaginary share, of the cost. It may not be so at the moment, but who can doubt the tendency, sooner or later, and more or less, I am sorry to say, of Parliament, to ease the English estimates at the cost of the Indian? It will require a very firm and upright leader to resist such a tendency. Cases may arise where he may even convince himself that it is fair and just to do so. Very recently the leader of the House of Commons used these words, on this very question: "It will impose no burden on India, though I should be quite prepared to contend, if need were, that the question is one involving very closely the interests of India also, as a part of the British Empire which might be very much affected by what might happen." The increased military demands from England and in India are the great difficulty, or one of the greatest difficulties, of Indian finance. The increased allowances to Native troops alone were estimated a year ago by Sir J. Strachey at 14,22,840 rupees a year. What will they be now? What will they be if this move is continued on a grand scale? Where will be the fund that was to be so religiously kept as an insurance against India's direst enemy—famine? Lost, I fear, in the nethermost pit of other good intentions.

At the conclusion of Mr. Foggo's paper, the CHAIRMAN invited free discussion, only asking gentlemen to confine themselves as strictly as possible to the subject as expressed in the title, "The Employment of Indian Troops in Europe."

General CAVENAGH rose, after a pause, and said he had entertained no intention of speaking, but as no one had risen, he could not refrain from offering a few remarks—first, as a member of the Council of the East India Association, to thank Mr. Foggo for his able paper; and next, to point out what he conceived to be errors in it. While it con-

tained a great mass of information of a most interesting character, it also contained what he regarded as two great fallacies which ran through and pervaded the whole of the argument. One: that an army is only able to defend its empire by restricting its operations to the limits of that empire or its immediate frontier. Now, every soldier knew that the first blow in a campaign, if successful, often has the greatest effect in securing the final result, and that it is frequently advantageous to assume the aggressive and strike that blow at a distance from the frontier, instead of awaiting attack in its immediate neighbourhood. It should also be remembered, in regard to India, how much the power of England rests there upon prestige—(hear, hear)—and they might depend upon it, the prestige of England had been enhanced by its being known to the people of India, that we were ready to attack the only enemy who is likely to interfere with us in the East. (Hear, hear.) The action which was taken was not with any desire to insult that possible enemy, but simply to show that we were ready for any emergency, and quite capable, in view of meeting that emergency, of removing our troops from India to any point where danger threatened, or where we could inflict injury on our foe. The other fallacy in the lecture was the dwelling upon the impossibility of competing, in point of numbers of soldiers, with Continental nations; and in regard to this, he (the speaker) desired to observe that it was not the mere numerical strength of an army which required to be considered; it was the power of concentration, the bringing of a certain body to a certain point at the proper moment, that was the test of the strength of a nation, and of its ability in war. (Hear, hear.) The fact was that while England is not—and he hoped never would be—what is called a great military Power, she was prepared to defend her position at the points deemed to be most important; and although she might not be able to bring 800,000 men into the field, she could, with her Indian Army, bring speedily to any given point 100,000 men, capable not only of holding a position, but of repelling and defeating any body of troops brought against it. It should be remembered that to bring 100,000 men to any particular point requires enormous resources; and there is no other nation that can equal the means we possess for this purpose, since we have ready at hand the instruments of transporting with speed a large body of men wherever they are wanted to strike an effective blow. (Hear, hear.) It is not, then, a question of numerical strength, or of considering how many troops England can put in the field; the real point is, how many men can she rapidly place upon a threatened spot. (Hear, hear.) Consequently, it is a great advantage to England to know that, in addition to her

Army at home, there are means of considerably enlarging her military forces at a few hours' notice. The lecturer, moreover, had overlooked the support given to our Army by our unrivalled Navy, and the power of concentration it affords. It would be absurd to talk of 20,000 or 40,000 men opposing the great Continental armies, but when it was necessary to strike a decisive blow at a proper moment, 40,000 troops thrown into the scale might have the desired effect, and the means of supplying these 40,000 troops was furnished by the Indian Native Army, aided by the British Navy. In the course of the lecture it had been asked whether we had not too many troops in India for the mere purpose of defending it; but he would ask in return whether we keep troops in England simply for defending the island? No; our Army is for the purpose of defending our position and possessions throughout the world; and when the magnitude of these possessions is taken into account, he thought it a matter of importance to know that we are able to bring quickly 30,000 men to a threatened or important strategical point. There was another matter in which he did not agree with the lecturer, and that was as to the capabilities and powers of endurance of the Native troops. Although he had not served in Afghanistan, he believed he was justified in stating, from information received from officers who were there, that the Natives did not suffer from the climate. With respect to the fighting qualities of the Native troops,* regarded as an integral portion of the Army of the Empire, and organized as they ought to be—not as now—few English officers would hesitate to lead Her Majesty's East Indian Regiments against the best troops of Europe. They were composed of men who would follow their officers to the death. (Hear, hear.) Where did we go, in former campaigns, to recruit our forces? We went everywhere throughout Europe gathering up foreign mercenaries. Then, does it not add to the prestige of England that she is enabled, instead of employing men from Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, to draw from the Indian Empire a fine body of troops whenever she is compelled to go to war? His own conviction was that this would add materially to the influence and power of the British Empire, and be of great advantage both to India and to England. As regarded the expenses contingent upon the employment of Indian troops, he for one would be opposed to throwing an undue share of the cost upon India; but, at the same time, he held that as India participates in the privileges of association with Great Britain she should bear her fair share of the expenses of meeting a common enemy

* The garrison employed in the defence of Khelaki Ghilzie was composed almost entirely of Native troops.

in any part of the world, since she certainly reaped benefit from our defence of her frontier and our ability to secure her internal peace and tranquillity. India, therefore, should pay her just proportion of any expenses incurred in defence of the Empire, and whenever it became necessary to use Indian troops, India should continue to pay them on the same scale as usual for any object in which her interests were concerned, leaving England to defray the expense of transport and any increase in the cost of their maintenance. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) said it appeared to him that in the discussion which had taken place in Parliament and elsewhere in regard to the employment of Indian troops, many subordinate matters had been elaborately discussed, while the important principle lying at the bottom of the movement had—he would not say, been lost sight of, but had attracted very little attention. In looking at the measure he confessed he could not but consider it as one of the wisest that could have been taken. (Hear.) To him it seemed an act of foresight, wisdom, and good policy such as he did not remember ever to have occurred since India had been in our possession. What had been hitherto the position of our Indian Army, and what were its characteristics? It was a large body of aliens—aliens from us in religion, aliens in thought and feeling—who had hitherto been engaged in fighting against their own countrymen—men of their own race, on behalf of us, a foreign nation. As Sir George Campbell lately very truly remarked, the Sepoy is a very practical man, who looks for his pay and his loot; and, unfortunately, never before had to look for anything else. That, indeed, had, as regards the masses generally, been the great weakness of our administration. There had been nothing to ensure their gratitude or attract their affection. They had cared nothing for us as a people; but ploughing their lands and eating their rice, they had been indifferent as to who ruled them, whether Mahomedan or Christian. The same feeling pervaded the Army. There had been nothing to secure their heartfelt allegiance, no tie between ruler and ruled; so that in the Mutiny, when their religious susceptibilities were stirred, the excitement at once over-powered the mere mercenary connection by which their services were secured, and turned them against us to revolt and massacre. But late events, it seemed to him, would tend to alter this feeling, and to supply that want from which England has hitherto suffered in her government of India. Even after 1857, when the East India Company's power was first transferred to Her Majesty, things went on as before, and the Government of India remained to its people an unknown quantity—an abstraction—presenting to the Native mind no personal substantiality to

attract their loyalty and good feeling. . Now, it was a notable fact that with all their faults the Sepoys and the people of India were strongly susceptible of personal attachment; they were a sentimental people, and required some personal object to secure allegiance and loyalty to their rulers. Hitherto they have not had this. But of late there have occurred certain important events which have materially added to their knowledge. There was the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which presented to their eyes a substantial and visible reality of Government. His Royal Highness was seen by them, and showed, by his courteous and kind manner, an interest in the people, which had a great effect as far as it went. Then followed the proclamation of the Queen of Great Britain as Empress of India; and now Imperial rule had received some evidence of reality; he regarded this ordering of Indian troops to Malta as a most important step in the right direction, as showing that Queen Victoria, in her capacity of Empress of India, could, at any moment, order her troops from the most distant part of her dominions in India. He (the speaker) looked upon this as a new link between England and India, which would have a most powerful effect in securing the loyalty of the people of India, and in extending the power of Great Britain. With regard to the financial questions raised by the lecturer, he thought they might be matters for future experience to determine; and he could see little or no advantage in dealing with them or discussing them on this occasion. He could not, however, conclude without reiterating his firm conviction that this one stroke of policy—the employment of Indian troops in Europe—was a most important and beneficial measure, which would prove to be the most advantageous of any one political movement made since the beginning of the century. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. K. M. DUTT observed that one of his objections to the removal of troops from India was based upon the fact that the policy of the action had not been determined in a constitutional manner by Parliament. If the Government of Her Majesty had but condescended to ask the consent of the House of Commons to the proposal to bring the troops over, there would have been no difficulty, and the act would have been legal as well as constitutional. But the Government thought otherwise, and hence the objection that he felt to the course taken. The previous speaker had intimated that the majority of the people of India were perfectly indifferent as to who ruled them or who they fight for, so long as they were paid regularly. That was perfectly true; and if anyone supposed the people were greatly attached to the British, that was a mistake. He was sorry to say that he could not agree with the pre-

vious speaker that the people of India had become more loyal since Her Majesty had been proclaimed as the Empress of India. No one ought to be deceived by the enthusiasm and loyalty shown by the princes and the people eighteen months ago at Delhi. If Parliament, imitating the Roman Senate, would have made the Queen the Goddess of India, thousands of temples would have been erected, countless images made, and no end of sacrifices offered in her honour, and millions would have worshipped her, as they do now some of their gods and goddesses—through fear. He did not wish to depreciate unnecessarily the value of the Indian Army, but it was his opinion that it could never be expected to fight with the same courage, bravery, and fidelity in Europe as English troops. They had been termed mercenary troops; and that being the case, they would never fight with the same courage and persistence as troops raised in a country fighting for its liberties and its own cause. (Hear, hear.) It was a great mistake to believe the contrary, and it was a mistake that had been made before. When Rome began to bring mercenary troops into the field, history showed that the foundations of the Roman Empire began to give way. (Hear, hear.) It was not observed at the time, but years afterwards it was seen that that step was the beginning of the decadence of Rome. He had heard it contended that the bringing Indian troops over to England, even making some of them a body-guard to Her Majesty, would create a good feeling; but he counselled those who urged this to remember the Praetorian Guards of Rome, and how they behaved. He said this in the interests of England and India; and because, if peace and tranquillity were desired for India, this policy must be condemned. As soon as the people of India get the impression that England cannot fight single-handed against any other European Power, they will say England is weak; and this idea is sure to cause outbreak and rebellion. It was only through fear that India was kept in subjection, and all that was said about veneration and affection for British rule was nonsense. He stated this as a fact; and anyone knowing human nature would agree that what he pointed to was that which was most likely to occur. No sooner did the people of India get the idea that the ruling power was weak, than they would attempt to throw off the yoke; and as India was making fair progress under British rule, this would throw the country back one hundred or two hundred years. It was these considerations that led him to condemn the policy of bringing Indian troops to fight European Powers, or to garrison European possessions, as a great mistake. It had been called a new policy, but it was not so. It was a policy that had been adopted more than a thousand years ago by another great

empire; and the results of it, as recorded in history, ought to operate as a lesson to England in the present day. One word more. If Her Majesty's Government continued to act with imperial despotism at home, treating the Representatives of the nation as nonentities, as they have recently done, depend upon it, it will be necessary to bring here Indian troops to keep down the English people.

MIRZA PEER BUKHSH, in emphatic terms, dissented from the views expressed by the last speaker, who, he urged, was giving his own personal feeling, and not the reflection of opinion in India. He (Mirza Peer Bukhsh) contended that Lord Beaconsfield had been the author of a masterstroke of policy in showing to Russia that England, though she had but a population of 38,000,000, could draw upon India with her 300,000,000 of people; so that, comparing numerical strength alone, England and India would be as four to one placed against Russia. The last speaker had said that the Natives of India would not fight out of their own country; but this he denied, being convinced that they would exhibit even more bravery under the circumstances, being proud of the position in which they would be placed. England had taken the right course, and as she had brought over 7,000 Indian troops she could bring 150,000 more, or even 500,000, if it was necessary. He would guarantee that if the Queen of England, as Empress of India, appealed to the Mahomedans, they would come over in any number required. They did not want money, and would not ask for it, but would fight for the honour of England, and especially against the Cossack, the enemy of the human race. People who attribute narrow-minded prejudices to the Natives of India are wrong, and it was a good thing to let Indian people understand that they were looked upon as of some value, and this was being done by interesting them in the administration of the country. People were talking about Russia, but it was easy to settle the question by pursuing a patient course, as the position she had taken up in Turkey was such that she would be cooked in her own gravy. (Laughter.) What with the condition of her troops, and the threatened revolution in Roumania, and the attitude of Austria, Russia would be compelled to concede every point required by England. England being the richest nation in the world could get any amount of money for war purposes, but Russia could not, and her paper money was now at a discount of 35 per cent. Under these circumstances, it was folly to suppose that there was any danger from Russian intervention in India. (Hear, hear.)

General Sir GEORGE MALCOLM said he had just wished to

supplement the remarks offered by Mr. William Tayler by saying that while he endorsed them he thought Mr. Tayler might have gone a little further in estimating the feelings of the Indian Army towards us. The Indian army was associated with us in creating the British Empire in India, and they know this and that they support us in maintaining it. Welded by their English officers and cemented by British troops they are the fabric of that army which is the basis of the British Empire in India. The knowledge of these facts has tended to infuse in them that feeling of self-respect which is what Indian troops most require. (Hear, hear.) It was through this feeling of self-respect which they felt as supporting the British Government in India, that they have been drawn, as it were, out of their own habits and customs to fight for us and to be with us in everything. He felt that this feeling among the Indian troops had been increased since Her Majesty had declared herself Empress of India. It had deepened and broadened the loyal spirit of the troops. (Hear, hear.) And the *morale* of the Army had been still further increased by the appeal lately made to them and the invitation given to them to join the English Army in supporting the honour and interests of the great British Empire. In point of fact, we have begun to acknowledge that India is a component part of the British Empire; and the invitation to the Native troops, as a practical illustration of this fact, would have the effect of raising the self-respect of the whole nation. (Hear, hear.) For this reason he regarded the measure as a very wise one on the part of Her Majesty's Ministers. (Hear, hear.) One other point in the paper he wished to make a remark upon, and that was as to the employment of troops in the colonies for garrison duty. He doubted very much the advisability of this, for reasons upon which he would not venture to enlarge on the present occasion. He would only repeat his conviction that so long as the Native troops were treated with confidence and respect and liberality, they would readily march wherever they were wanted, and would respond to our appeal as readily as they have just done. If called upon to fight in line with British troops, he firmly believed they would show of what good stuff they were made, and would prove their ability, under proper leadership, to meet European troops in the field. (Hear, hear.)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH said he desired to express his entire dissent from the views enunciated by a previous Native speaker regarding the employment of Native troops. Doubtless the Native speaker explained the feeling of his countrymen so far as he was able to judge; but he could fairly say he dissented from him, and did not

believe he represented the general Native feeling. India, as a whole, was not disloyal. Wherever the people were treated as a conquered race there existed, of course, a bitter feeling against their masters, just as the Britons felt regarding Julius Cæsar. But a measure like that of bringing the Indian soldiers to fight in Europe was one that would do much to conciliate India; for it showed confidence in her, inspired her with self-respect, raised her in the eyes of the world, and infused her with a loyal, grateful spirit. In these circumstances, Indian races would fight as bravely as any in the world; for physically many of them were quite as strong and stalwart as any Europe could produce, and their courage was as little doubted. Loyal, then, in spirit, he need not say they would fight against Russia with pleasure as their long-threatened foe. Russia, it should be remembered, was not less the enemy of English-India than of England; for the former had been disturbed for a generation or more, its frontier threatened, its peace endangered by the persistent machinations of the Northern Colossus; and a settlement of these troubles would be as advantageous to the prosperity of India as to the welfare of the British Empire at large. In conclusion, the speaker reiterated his conviction that the more confidence the British Government showed in the Sepoys, the more loyal and useful they would become in upholding the strength and power of the Empire.

Colonel ARBUTHNOT, M.P., said it appeared to him that the lecturer had scarcely done justice to more than one side of the question, and had moreover set about his work with a preconceived view of the question. In quoting the opinion of those authorities who were opposed to the employment of Indian troops, he had failed to give equal prominence to the views of those who looked favourably on the proposal. For instance, Mr. Foggo had given great place to the opinions of Sir George Campbell and Mr. Laing, but these were two gentlemen who certainly were not accustomed to go out of their way to be friendly to any act of the party in power; and the value of their opinions must be estimated accordingly. The evidence these two members give on this subject is probably as favourable as could be expected from them as occupants of the position of critics of the Government from the opposite benches. Mr. Foggo, too, while quoting from many Indian authorities, had not favoured the meeting with any opinions of colonial governors on the subject of this employment of Indian troops in the Imperial service, although evidence of this kind would have been interesting and important. He (Colonel Arbuthnot) had taken some interest in this question in Parliament, and he believed he might say he suggested some of the points which have arisen out of this act of policy on the part

of the Government. Hence he had made it his duty to consult authorities of all kinds on the subject, and he had been much struck with the fact that all those who have to do with the British colonies were unanimously in favour of the employment of Native troops. He was quite willing to concede that the Governor of the Gold Coast, or the Cape, did not come into contact with people of quite the same character as the Natives of India ; but still their evidence was worth something, and they say that whenever men have been sent to England—as they have been for instruction in drill and like purposes—the result has been most beneficial to the men, and to the colonies to which they returned. (Hear, hear.) In the schedule of advantages and disadvantages which Mr. Foggo had marshalled, the only strong objection to the employment of Native troops appeared to have been overlooked. It has been said that the more the Native Indian troops see of England and the colonies, the less edified and awe-struck they will be. (" Hear," and laughter.) And it must be admitted that there was, perhaps, in this country a good deal remaining to be improved among the people, although he did not think that could be raised as a serious objection to the proposal under discussion. An advantage not considered duly by Mr. Foggo was, that by this employment of Native troops we show that we are not at all afraid of India, but, on the contrary, can rely on her military power to aid us in case of need, just the same as if we were all born in the same country. (Hear, hear.) One other point had struck him, and that was Mr. Foggo's silence as to how this act had been received among the Natives of India. They could, of course, only judge of its ultimate effect by observation of the feeling which has been produced when the action is taken ; and in this relation he had no hesitation in saying that there was but one feeling, and that of unqualified satisfaction in India at this stroke of policy. (" Hear, hear," and dissent.) He had within the past few days spoken to Colonel Dillon (Lord Napier of Magdala's Military Secretary), and Colonel Burne, who were in constant communication with India, and they unite in saying that both among the Mussulmans and Hindus the feeling was perfectly unanimous in approval of the policy ; and that so intense is the interest taken in the progress of political affairs in Europe, now that India is associated with them, that subscriptions are freely made for the circulation of telegrams. In conclusion, Colonel Arbuthnot said he had taken up strong opinions on the matter, and it had been a great satisfaction to hear the nearly unanimous opinion in the same direction which had been expressed by qualified critics who had preceded him, and who, he noticed, joined with him in believing that the measure was one which would directly tend to the unification and solidification of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Major-General Sir G. LE GRAND JACOB said that in the first instance he would remark that it was impossible to form any proper judgment regarding the employment of these troops at Malta, without knowing the reasons which have actuated the Government in calling them there. These reasons are as yet hidden from us ; but there are most likely deep State reasons ; and to come to a conclusion without knowing them would be mere guesswork. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps if they were disclosed, and the veil which now hides them were lifted up, we might see something that would entirely alter our opinions, and make those who now hesitate to approve of this movement, say it was a master-stroke. (Hear, hear.) His own opinion was—subject to modification by whatever facts may yet come forth—that it was good policy on the part of the Government. (Hear, hear.) He thought this for several reasons. Not only is its action on Europe beneficial, but its action upon India is more so. When we see in the newspapers and in private letters that the troops marched to their transports shouting “Victory to their Empress,” and were cheered by sympathising thousands on their road, it is impossible to doubt the earnest zeal which the Indian people threw into the cause, or the evidence it affords of the disposition to support the Government. (Hear, hear.) It shows them conscious that the only power they need fear is that against which the troops were believed to be marching ; and if we can keep up this feeling of loyalty to our cause we need not regard as of serious importance anything Russia can do, even though she bring half a million of men to the Himalayas. (Hear, hear.) Another remark suggested by Mr. Foggo’s paper was that the scriptural injunction, “Put not your trust in princes,” might usefully be extended to Blue-books. (Laughter.) Mr. Foggo, for whose remarkably able lecture the meeting would doubtless return him their thanks; had been misled, as well as Mr. Gladstone, by a Parliamentary Return. Both had quoted from the Blue-book of Major Anson’s Committee on the Employment of Indian Troops, to show the limited use of those troops for foreign territories. [Here Mr. Foggo acknowledged having been thus misled.] Mr. Gladstone, of course, had quoted it to make political capital out of the mistake—for mistake it certainly was, as he had long ago pointed out in a letter which was published in the *Standard* on the 28th of July, 1868. He then wrote : “Major Anson’s Committee on the Employment of Indian Troops in “our Colonies gave a list of the foreign countries in which the Indian “armies had served. From this list were omitted the following “countries where the Bombay Army was employed : Egypt, Arabia, “Persia, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, and the Isle of France.” Mr. Gladstone had taken advantage of this misleading admission from

the Blue book : let us hope that he did it in ignorance. Whatever the cause, he has left out countries in which Indian troops have served, in writing that unstatesmanlike, dangerous, and improper article in the *Nineteenth Century*. (Hear, hear.) The feeling which had filled him (the speaker) when he read it was profound surprise that any Englishman, still more astonishing that any British statesman—especially one who had been a Prime Minister—should have lowered himself to incite the people of India to rebellion ; for such was the effect of that article, and no one can read it without coming to that conclusion. It would not have done to have mentioned Egypt or Alexandria as places where Indian troops were formerly employed, because Alexandria is not far from Malta; so Mr. Gladstone ignored them. If they could at that time be employed in Egypt against the French, there could be no solid reason for objecting to their going to Malta perchance to fight another European nation. (Hear, hear.) Another remark which he wished to make had reference to the alleged difficulty of raising soldiers in India for carrying on war. Now he had some knowledge of India, having served during a very long period of life in different parts of the country, from Sind in the north, down to the extreme southern limits of the Bombay Presidency, and also travelled in other parts ; he therefore knew something of the habits and feelings of the people, and he was sure there would be no difficulty in raising any number of strong men easily convertible into good soldiers, in the event of war. Nor was he disposed to attach importance to the supposed difficulty of disbanding them afterwards. If there were any serious fighting, no doubt there would be a great many disposed of in the way that soldiers must expect to be ; and at the end of the war many might be required for occupation of territory. On the whole, he thought we need not disturb ourselves as to what should be done with the men after the war is over : the first thing we have to do being to raise the men to make the war with and win it. He believed that if the good raw material of India were taken in hand, in three months they might turn out men trained and fitted for war ; and he need not say that war with a nation like Russia would not be over in a few months ; it might, indeed, be a matter of years, if Russia could last so long. General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob concluded by thanking Mr. Foggo for the opportunity he had afforded for drawing out their sentiments upon this important topic ; and added his sorrow to find a Native of India who seemed to calumniate his own countrymen, and maintain that they were not fit to fight along with Europeans. He begged to say that he was himself a living example of the contrary, and he could quote numbers of instances to the same effect. (Hear, hear.) His own

life was saved by the bravery of a Native when two or three hundred English soldiers were by and did not venture the risk of bringing him away when lying desperately wounded from under the fire of the enemy. (Hear, hear.) He could give numerous instances of a like character, but one sample was enough. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. K. M. DUTT said he was anxious to disclaim any such opinions as had been attributed to him by General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob. What he meant to convey by his speech was that Indian troops employed in Europe would be simply mercenaries, and fighting for an alien cause, they would not fight like English troops, who would be fighting for their own country. As to the bravery of the Indian soldiers, it is well known to every reader of the history of India to be equal to that of the best soldiers of Europe.

Mr. DADABHOY BYRAMJEE said he had been already anticipated in a measure in what he was going to say, by the distinguished speaker who preceded him (General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob); but he was constrained to say that what had fallen from that gentleman could hardly be held as a sufficient refutation to the arguments advanced by so able a statesman as Mr. Gladstone in his paper which was published in the *Nineteenth Century*. He should have liked, too, to have heard from him something in regard to the motion which the honourable Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) had determined to bring before the House of Commons at no distant date, as to the question raised by this movement of the Indian troops, which had not been touched by preceding speakers, and upon which he would have liked to have heard sound opinions; and that was whether it did not tend to show that the Army supported by India was larger than was needed for her own requirements. This was a point of vital importance to the people of India, and one that was entitled to grave consideration. As regarded Sir Le Grand Jacob's remarks on the previous employment of Indian troops in foreign countries, he would have liked to learn, too, whether there was any precedent of the Indian Army having been employed upon occasions similar to the present, where the contest turned mainly upon questions of European interest, and where India was only indirectly concerned.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the employment of the troops in Egypt formed such a precedent; and an interesting point was that while it took three months to get the Indian contingent there in those days, it took only three weeks to get them to Malta now.

Mr. DADABHOY BYRAMJEE said he could not avoid thinking

that the statements made by Mr. Gladstone would require closer scrutiny before they were dismissed as of no value. He had been asked by English gentlemen what he thought of the Indian Army being employed at present in the service of Her Majesty in Europe, and he confessed he could not arrive at any clear conclusions until he had read all that was written by men of Mr. Gladstone's position, experience, and ability, and then it occurred to him that such an article as was contributed in the *Nineteenth Century* could not fail to excite the attention of the educated Natives, and that most of the intelligent and educated Natives of India would inquire whether the compensation to India for the use of her Army was to be merely a matter of money in exchange for so much blood, with perhaps the sentimental compensation of being stared at in London by costermongers and people of that kind. He thought India would be justly entitled to ask for more than this—for a greater extension of Imperial rights and privileges than had yet been vouchsafed to her. The Indian people would require to be properly represented, and to be given a fair share in the administration of the affairs of the Indian Empire; and this and other allied questions had not been referred to by previous speakers, although they naturally arose from the act of policy they had met to discuss.

Colonel H. W. WOOD said, after having served thirty years in India he had not the slightest hesitation in expressing his conviction that this move of the British Government was one of the most patriotic and far-seeing that England had been blessed with for many a long day. Not only was it beneficial to England, but to India also. Ever since he began to serve in India the country had been periodically alarmed by the intrigues of Russia in all the three Presidencies. Now that we are bringing home Native troops we show Russia that we do not hesitate. We beard her in her own den; and this will be of immense benefit to both England and India. Alarms will have less effect now that it is seen that England, with India at her back, knows how to meet her enemy. India, thus relieved of a disturbing influence, benefits largely by this act, and might fairly be called upon to bear her portion of the expense involved in procuring her peace and quietness. Russia had always been intriguing, from Cabul downwards, to try and upset our rule in India; and hence his surprise to hear any one say that India had no direct interest in this employment of her troops in Europe. As to getting an army from India, if we wanted it, there was no doubt we could get as many men as we required from each of the three Presidencies; and the raw material was excellent. He served in China, and the Native troops there enjoyed the best of health, even in a severe winter. In fact, the

medical officers used to say that their walk through the hospital was a mere morning's pleasure. He had also served in the Straits with the Native troops, and with similar satisfactory experiences. In fact, the Madras Army had always been looked upon as a foreign service army, and had served in many foreign places. In fact, the new contention was absurd, in view of the circumstance that the men enlisted with the distinct provision that they would take foreign service if called upon. The Indian Army was, in fact, part of the force of the British Empire, and there was no reason why her service should be limited to India. Employed in British foreign service, they would return to their homes and tell their people of the strength and power of England all over the world—a fact of which, at present, they have only hazy notions ; and this would largely contribute to strengthen British rule in India. As to the fanciful objection to employing "Natives" for European service, it seemed to be quite forgotten how much of Russia's military strength was made up of contingents no more Russian than Indians were English ; and in fighting Russia with the Indian Army we should be using the same agents as those which she had always employed.

Mr. GEORGE FOGGO said that in exercising his right of reply he would not detain them long, and would be as brief as possible. As to General Cavenagh's objection to his statement that the Bengal regiments were disorganised by the cold, in the Affghan War, he could only say that, as he was not there himself, he must be content with the statement in the Blue-book to that effect. The leading points towards the conclusion of his paper had not been met by any of the speakers, General Cavenagh included : What are the real numbers of Indian troops available and fit to serve in these colder climates ? where are they ? where are they to be had ? It was worse than useless sending troops, fit only for warm climates, to die in the Balkans or on the mountains of Armenia ! On these points he had quoted the opinion of Sir R. Temple, an advocate of the proposal, who considered that the Punjaubees were the only Natives fit to serve in Europe, and that the number available in time of war could not be more than 16,000 men. Others said 30,000 or 40,000, but what again, he asked, were these numbers, the largest of them, against the great military Powers of Europe ? Mr. Peer Bukhsh had talked of 500,000, and another Native speaker of "any number." What he wanted his military friends to do was to satisfy him and the country on these points ; but none of them appeared able to do so. He now came to Colonel Arbuthnot, whom he did not see now present, and as to whose remarks he should have said, had he been present, that they were not made in the most generous

spirit ; but as the honourable and gallant gentleman had left the house, or, to speak in military *parlance*, had beat an ignominious retreat, he would simply answer him. It seemed that he entertained the most sanguine views on this question, so as even to desire that the Indian troops should be brought to London to see the sights ! He complained that the paper had treated the subject with a pre-conceived and prejudiced intention. Now, upon this point, he (Mr. Foggo) must say, in justice to himself, that when he began to consider the question, which was as soon as the move was announced, he asked all his friends of military experience what they thought of it, and the general, though not universal, opinion was favourable. He suspended his opinion until he came to look into the question, and had got hold of the Blue-book. Then he began to open his eyes, and the question arose in his mind, Is this the way we are to become a great military power, when the most able advocates of the move tell us the numbers are so limited ? If in the solitude of his closet he had said what he really thought, and what he was not, of course, going to say in that assembly, he should have said the whole thing was a sham. It was not, as one or more of the speakers had declared, that we should make Russia think or believe that we had these troops in unlimited numbers ; it was our duty to make sure we had them ; that was a matter of common sense and common honesty, of truth and honour and fair dealing,—or the opposite. Colonel Arbuthnot had complained that his quotations were one-sided, but he had been unable to quote every one, and had given opinions fairly, on both sides, as far as time and space allowed. He did not see that the opinions of Colonial Governors had any peculiar importance ; but he remembered one—Sir Hercules Robinson, who said that if we sent Indian troops anywhere as a supplement to European, the proportion should not be greater than three to one ; in other words, that any Native force should be held in check by the European force. He hoped Colonel Arbuthnot would be satisfied with this opinion of a Colonial Governor. He had quoted Sir George Campbell because he was a great Anglo-Indian authority, and it was odd that Colonel Arbuthnot should have complained of this, seeing that Sir George largely supported the idea of bringing over the Native troops. In his first speech in Parliament he was dead against the thing, but in the second speech he strongly approved of it, at least as, so far, a successful experiment ; so that to quote Sir George's two speeches was certainly no unfairness to the supporters of the movement. Colonel Arbuthnot had also said that General Dillon and other officers had assured him that the people of India were decidedly in favour of what he, somewhat comically, called this stroke of policy. To this he unhesitatingly replied that we had no evidence

whatever on the point. It was at all times exceedingly difficult to ascertain the real feelings of the people of India; they were so docile, so easily led, so used to obedience, that you could not get real opinions from them; and on this subject, how could any one possibly tell, as yet, that they know anything about it, or if they do know, that they care anything? The enthusiasm that some spoke of was the enthusiasm of the soldiery, and gave no indication of the feelings of the people. It seemed that, according to General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, he had been led into an error by the Blue-book, in the distinguished company of Mr. Gladstone. He certainly thought that the Bombay Army had not served in Egypt, and the Blue-book was his authority, but not that alone, for he had gathered the same from a perusal of the Marquis Wellesley's dispatches on the expedition to Egypt in 1801; he might still be mistaken, but really the point was a very small one, by no means of importance. He might, anyhow, be excused for accepting as his authority a Report of an important Parliamentary Committee, of which Lord Salisbury was Chairman; and if he was in error, it was in very good company. The occasion of the paper he had read to the Meeting was very easily explained. The Council of the Association had decided that a paper should be read on the subject, that it should set forth the supposed advantages and disadvantages. He had volunteered his services, in the absence of others, and he had endeavoured to execute the task with impartiality. One word more: Colonel Arbuthnot had thought proper to say that he had exhibited a bias. He admitted it; but it was the best kind of bias—not the bias of prejudice, but the bias that came from study and reflection.

The CHAIRMAN said the hour was too late for him to venture on a prolongation of the discussion by adding any lengthy remarks of his own. To him the paper read had been most interesting, and he was sure the meeting shared his sentiments. (Hear, hear.) They had to thank Mr. Foggo for his lecture, and also the speakers who had followed him, for the part they had taken. With regard to the point raised between Mr. Foggo and General Sir Le Grand Jacob, the latter was quite right in saying there was a serious error in the Blue-book as to the extent in which the Indian troops had been employed on foreign service. In 1801, moreover, there were 2,000 native troops among the 7,000 men sent to Egypt, and they were drawn from the three Presidencies. It might be thought a notable circumstance that it took these troops five months to get to Alexandria; whereas in the present day, within a month from its departure from India, the Duke of Cambridge reviewed the contingent at Malta. When we compare the acts of the

past with those of the present, we must not forget the vastly-increased power conferred by our improved means of transit, and the celerity with which great bodies of troops can now be moved. What would have been of little value in former times owing to the slowness and difficulty of communication would be of great value now. If the feeling of the meeting had been fairly represented by the various speakers in the discussion, he thought himself justified in saying that there was a strong preponderance in favour of the views which he himself held on this particular question, namely, that the employment of Indian troops in Europe was a great experiment, the results of which should be closely watched, with a view to future guidance. For his own part he earnestly desired that the experiment should be fairly tried; and he would be very glad to see it successful. Such, indeed, appeared to be the general wish of the gentlemen present; and should Mr. Foggo see the movement hereafter crowned with success, he would no doubt experience a feeling of satisfaction too. (Hear, hear.) Meantime the meeting could not do less than return him their thanks for his able lecture, followed as it had been by a very interesting discussion, and he had great pleasure in moving to this effect.

The proposition was adopted unanimously, and on the motion of General CAVENAGH, seconded by the Rev. JAMES LONG, a similar compliment was paid to the Chairman.

This terminated the sitting.

Annual Meeting, July 24, 1878.

THE Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held on July 24th, at the Rooms of the Association, 20, Great George-street, Westminster, under the presidency of Mr. Edward B. Eastwick, C.B., Chairman of the Council of the Association.

Captain W. C. PALMER (Hon. Secretary of the Association) submitted the Annual Report of the Council, which will be found on page 189.

The CHAIRMAN said there was nothing of special importance in the Report which called for extended comment. The work of the Association had proceeded in its usual course during the year, and it had produced several valuable papers, which had led to good discussions. As regards the number of members of the Association, it would be observed that they kept about the same; there being nineteen new members, who more than filled up the vacancies which were created in the year; so that as regards numbers and subscriptions the Association stood almost the same as last year. The one serious thing in relation to the work of the Association, was the increased rent for the premises it occupied, and the fact that they were now only temporary sojourners there, and would have to remove before long. Hence the importance, not only of keeping up the ordinary subscriptions, but of obtaining others to pay for the erection of a building of their own. That was one of the objects which he had in view during his journeys in India, and he had mentioned the matter wherever he went. But the period was an unfortunate one for an enterprise of this kind. There had been a dreadful famine in the South of India and a severe drought in Upper India; and the people with money have been obliged to employ it in assisting their brethren and fellow-subjects; so that there had been little or no money to be spared for objects not absolutely pressing. He hoped and thought, however, that a better time was coming, for there was every reason to believe that good rains had fallen, and that they might look to see the country regain its usual prosperity. During this bad time the Association could hardly expect that subscriptions would be given in furtherance of its objects. Still, good seed had been sown in many quarters. They had two accessions of importance from among the chiefs of India. One of these was His Excellency Raghunath Rao, Dewan of His High-

ness the Maharajah Holkar; the other Sakáram Ráo, husband of Her Highness the Princess of Tanjore. No doubt others would follow after the period of trouble had passed away. With regard to the Report of the Council, there was, as he had already said, nothing calling for special comment. In the Appendix was given a copy of a Petition sent to the Secretary of State for India, by the Council of the Association, urging the adoption of the Pancháyet system of government; and a reply had just been received stating that the subject should have due consideration. In the Appendix there was also another memorial which, emanating from the Bombay Branch of the Association, the Council had been made the medium of presenting to the House of Commons, on the subject of the Vernacular Press Act, and he would take this opportunity of acknowledging the usefulness of the support sent by that Branch to the work of the Association in London. In conclusion, the Chairman formally moved the adoption of the Report.

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE seconded this; and

Major-General Sir LE GRAND JACOB, supporting it, said he was glad to see that, although, as in duty bound, the Council had forwarded the memorial of the Bombay Branch of the Association to the House of Commons, they abstained from offering any comment upon it, because he would have been sorry had the Association at home committed themselves to all the sentiments expressed in the Bombay Memorial on the Vernacular Press Act. For instance, the memorial states: "What the Vernacular papers alluded to are really chargeable "with is: (1) That they frequently expose, and sometimes too severely "reflect upon individual officials and their proceedings; (2) That they "publish criticisms, often bitter, and sometimes erroneous, on the "financial results of British administration." Now these are not the reasons of the Government Act. The memorialists appear to have forgotten that the charge against the Native papers was that they calumniate individuals, either from motives of enmity or from pure malice, or a desire to create a sensation, or to extort hush-money. The law gave no real redress for wrongs done in this way, nor was it sufficient to prevent them. The memorialists ignore this; and in thus leaving out of consideration of the motives of the Government the strongest reasons for some extension of the old law relating to the Native Press, they were manifestly unfair. Elsewhere the petitioners profess their inability to see how the new law can be a mitigation of the old law, overlooking the fact that lesser punishments are introduced in order to render unnecessary the calling into play of the more severe punishments of the old law.

The CHAIRMAN said there was no doubt the subject was a very wide one, and that it bristled with difficulties.

Colonel RATHBORNE said it could hardly be expected that the Bombay memorialists would argue against their own stand-point. From their point of view the memorial was an excellent one. (Hear, hear.)

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB admitted all this, but still considered it important that petitioners seeking redress from the House of Commons should be very careful to state their case with fairness and with a strict adherence to sound reasons without the aid of fictitious ones. The duty of an advocate is to state his own case as best he can but the duty of petitioners to Parliament is not to ignore or misstate the position of their opponents.

The CHAIRMAN said there could be no doubt that the great debate in the House of Commons which took place on the previous night would do great good.

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB said there was no doubt the Indian Government were in fault for their needlessly hurried action; and Lord Cranbrook's despatch to Lord Lytton was an excellent one, and remedied most of the evils which the Bombay memorialists anticipated from the adoption of the Act.

The Report of the Council was then formally adopted.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed that the Right Hon. Sir Laurence Peel be re-elected President for the ensuing year. It was a matter of deep regret that the great age and infirmity of the President prevent him from attending the meetings of the Association. At the same time the Council were quite certain that his mind was with them, because they had frequent communications from him, and he sent his opinions and advice, which nobody who knew him would undervalue. Their President in fact did all in his power to aid them; and the very circumstance of the Association having at its head so moderate and so excellent a man, was a fortunate one. It is, all Anglo-Indians would admit, "*magnus et venerabile nomen*"—(hear, hear)—and it was to be hoped the meeting would unanimously re-elect him to the Presidency.

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB seconded the motion, saying that the explanations of the Chairman as to the interest displayed by Sir Laurence Peel in the work of the Association had removed any objections he might have entertained, for it was shown that the President did all that could be expected of an aged man. He entirely concurred with all that the Chairman had said regarding the advantage of having

such a man at the head of the Association. The motion was then carried unanimously.

Mr. C. W. ARATHOON moved that the following gentlemen be elected Vice-Presidents: His Excellency Raghunath Rao; General Sir George Balfour, K.C.B., M.P.; General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I.; Major-General Sir George Le Grand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I.

Mr. RUSTOMJEE VICCAJEE seconded this motion, which was adopted *nem. con.*

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB moved that the following gentlemen be re-elected members of the Council: E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B.; Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.S.I.; C. B. Denison, Esq., M.P.; P. Pirie Gordon, Esq.; John Farley Leith, Esq., Q.C., M.P.; S. P. Low, Esq.; General Sir George Malcolm, K.C.B.; John Bruce Norton, Esq.

MIRZA PEER BUKHSH seconded this, and it was adopted *nem. con.*

The CHAIRMAN: These are all our formal resolutions, but I would wish to say a few words as to my journey to India. I am sorry that my absence in India has prevented me from attending, as I should have done, the meetings of the Association; whenever I am at home I make a point of coming to the meetings. I hope that the journeys I have made in India, although they have not borne immediate fruit, will be to the ultimate advantage of the Association. I had the opportunity of seeing many chiefs and men of high influence in India, who, of course, have the interest of their country thoroughly at heart, and they are convinced that the Association is a valuable one. But, as I said before, a series of calamities has befallen India; and there were great expenses consequent on the highly successful visit of the Prince of Wales to India. I do not mention this as deprecating that royal visit, because, as I say, it was an eminently successful one, but there is no doubt it imposed great expense upon many of the chiefs and princes of India. The Ruler of Hyderabad, for instance, expended enormous sums in preparation, and although the Prince of Wales did not visit the Nizam's capital after all, the cost was the same. These expenses, and the outlay necessitated by the prevalent distress and famine, naturally deterred these dignitaries from looking at secondary matters. I believe now that an end has been reached of the troubles with which India has been afflicted, and I think you will find that in the ensuing year our position will improve and the means of the Association will be increased for good by the collection of subscriptions for the erection of a hall of their own.

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB said he would be happy to subscribe for this purpose when the scheme was put forward.

The CHAIRMAN also said he would be glad to offer his subscription, and others would doubtless do the same. A considerable sum would be needed, and the initiative would necessarily be taken by the home members of the Association, so as to form a pedestal, as it were, upon which to base the Indian subscriptions.

Colonel RATHBORNE entirely coincided with the expediency of taking steps to secure the Association a permanent home, as it would procure the East India Association a more prominent position in the minds of the public at home, and so enable the Association to bring more influence to bear to represent the reasonable wants and wishes of the people of India. The policy of the chiefs of India in hesitating to cordially support the Association was, to his mind, a very short-sighted one. When the arrow of dispossession struck them they spent money right and left, and in improper and injudicious ways to get a hearing in England, whereas one half or one quarter the sum spent in advancing the legitimate influence of the Association would save them from being wronged at all. By keeping right and justice before the English Government and people, the Association could do a useful and necessary work, and in this light its claims should be impressed upon the chiefs and rulers of India.

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB remarked that there were two classes of objectors or opponents to the East India Association. The first class were those who called themselves Government men, who fancied that this was a sort of opposition shop to the Indian Council, and therefore liked to throw cold water upon its work, and thought it a little too radical and revolutionary. This was a great mistake, for the object of the Association was to support the Indian Government in all right doing, and in cases of error to point the fault out, so that amendment could take place. In every right sense the East India Association was a strong supporter of the British Government in India; and the opposite notion was entirely erroneous. (Hear, hear.) The other class were referred to by Colonel Rathborne—the princes and chiefs of India, who in some instances grumbled and fretted that their individual wrongs were not taken up. Instead of supporting the Association in securing right and preventing mischief, they waited until the evil was done to themselves. There were thus two classes of objectors—those who thought the Association were grievance mongers, and those who complained that they were not.

The CHAIRMAN said it had been suggested that the occasion of these Annual Meetings should be marked by a dinner, and this was a point that should be considered, for there was no doubt that Englishmen

deemed that the legitimate way of carrying on a movement like theirs, and people would be more likely to give cordial support to any object after dinner than before.

Some conversation followed on the propriety of preparing a manual of the uses and objects of the Association, and a uniform collection of the cases coming within the cognisance of the Association, after which a vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1877-8.

Your Council beg to submit their Report for the past year, 1877-78, from which it will be seen that they have continued to carry out the objects for which the Association was instituted—viz., the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India.

For ten years the Council have been engaged, not unsuccessfully, in the important work they have undertaken, and during that time much useful information has been diffused through the land by means of the Journal of the Association, pamphlets, and the agency of the Press; important subjects have been discussed, and valuable opinions have been elicited from statesmen and others of wide experience and practical knowledge; and as far as the means placed at the disposal of the Council will allow, they are still continuing to carry out the objects of the Association.

INDIAN FAMINES.

In the previous year two public meetings were held, at which an able paper on the subject of Indian famines was read—the first, on the “Indian Problem of Indian Famines,” by Mr. R. H. Elliot; and a second paper on “Indian Famines and Indian Organization,” by Mr. J. B. Phear, late Judge of the High Court of Calcutta. In the papers and the discussion which followed, the following point was brought out very clearly—viz., the harm that has accrued from destroying the ancient forms of self-government among the Natives which were found in existence, and substituting a too centralized government.

During the past session another paper on the subject of famines was read by General Sir Arthur Cotton, entitled “The Prevention and Counteraction of Indian Famines.”

Famine, it was shown, had not been prevented, though vast sums of money had been spent on railways, irrigation, and navigation works, and millions had died of want; and it was suggested that in the provision of increased means of irrigation and improved water carriage would be found the way to escape from famines; that the multitude of old irriga-

tion works might be greatly improved and extended, and that the innumerable sites for storing water which existed should be taken advantage of. In the discussion which followed the reading of this Paper, these views were generally approved.

The amount of sympathy felt by the people of England towards their fellow-subjects in India suffering from the awful calamity of famine, was shown by the subscriptions to the Famine Fund. In October a circular inviting subscriptions was sent by the Secretary to members of the Association, but most of them had subscribed to the Fund in their respective localities. The amount collected in response to the appeal was 53*l.* 14*s.*, which was sent to the Mansion House Indian Fund, and acknowledged in the columns of the *Times*.

THE DANGERS AND ADVANTAGES OF PARLIAMENTARY AND POPULAR (ENGLISH) INTERFERENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

On the 20th of February a meeting was held, at which Mr. James Routledge read a paper on "The Dangers and Advantages of Parliamentary and Popular (English) Interference in the Government of India." After weighing the advantages and evils of popular interference, the writer urged that the wholesome principle of English political life is sleepless watchfulness, and what was good for England was also good for India; that those who laid the foundations of our Empire insisted that they should be made to rest on justice, and that wrongdoing should be curbed; that popular interference was reasonable, necessary, and inevitable, because, if danger is incurred in India, England has to pay the penalty in treasure and lives; and it is of the first importance to know that England would defend India to the last.

Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., the Chairman of the meeting, in closing the debate, made some seasonable remarks, and showed that the conquest of India by England was not a matter of accident, but the time had come for the domination of the races not capable of self-government; that we had a mission to fulfil there; and in the history of the world there were no other people who had done so much in the way of conquest with so much conscience as the English people. In his opinion the dangers were almost *nil*, and the advantages great. He could see no danger from such meetings being held, and their object should be to increase the amount of popular interest in the administration of the affairs of India in this country.

THE VILLAGE PANCHAYAT: CONCILIATION AS A REMEDY FOR AGRARIAN DISORDERS IN INDIA.

On the 13th of March last, Mr. W. Wedderburn, of the Bombay Civil Service, read a paper before the Association, entitled "The

Village Panchayat : Conciliation as a Remedy for Agrarian Disorders in India ; " in which paper inquiry was made as to the causes which have led to the extreme poverty and indebtedness of the cultivating classes, as to the action of the Civil Courts in dispossessing the landholders and in producing agrarian violence and disorder, and as to the legislative remedies which have hitherto been attempted ; and the following were indicated as the leading remedies for existing anarchy and pauperism :—

- (1) *Conciliation*, to heal the quarrel between the lenders and the borrowers ;
- (2) *Improved Credit*, to lower the rate of interest ; and
- (3) *A Law of Insolvency*, to provide a means of escape for the debtor in extreme cases.

At the meeting the chair was taken by Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P. ; he as well as other gentlemen of large Indian experience took part in the discussion ; and it was generally agreed that the employment of Panchayats would be highly advantageous as tending to promote good-will among the rural classes, and to reduce mischievous litigation.

The Council have addressed a memorial to the Secretary of State for India, praying for an inquiry to be made, in order to ascertain how far the poverty and indebtedness of the cultivating classes is due to defects in the existing judicial system for the recovery of debt, and whether the delay, vexation, uncertainty, and expense of litigation might not be materially reduced by restoring the ancient and customary institution of Village Panchayats. [The memorial is inserted in the Appendix.]

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVE TROOPS IN EUROPE.

The employment of Native Troops in Europe formed the subject of an able paper read by Mr. Foggo at the Westminster Palace Hotel on the 26th of June. The advantages and disadvantages of the measure were carefully balanced, and a valuable amount of information on the subject, as well as of the views held by persons of experience, was brought together in the paper, which led to an important discussion, in the course of which expression was given to opinions highly approving of the measure, and stating that the step had created great satisfaction in India.

DELEGATES FOR INDIA.

The Bombay Branch of the Association held a meeting, at which Sir David Wedderburn, a Vice-President of the Association, read a paper giving some important suggestions on the subject of " Delegates for India." In the course of the paper he pointed out that any individual

or class whose case is not espoused by one party or other in Parliament finds great difficulty in making progress, and the apparent indifference which the House of Commons manifests for Indian affairs results partly from the fact that it is not a question in which the constituencies feel themselves interested, and partly it is an acknowledgment of its own ignorance; that it was hopeless to attempt to obtain for India anything like proportional representatives; that the English people are very desirous to know about India; they wish to govern it justly, but they are not prepared to resign that government by admitting a large number of Native representatives. Sir David Wedderburn thought that the precedent given by the United States should be copied. In that country, besides the thirty-seven States which compose the great Republic, there are large tracts of country known as territories, of which the population or importance is not sufficient to justify their admission to the Union. Congress makes laws for these territories, but although they send no members to Congress they are not unrepresented. They each send one representative, who is styled a delegate; he has the right to speak, but not to vote. And the Branch was urged to agitate to promote the admission into Parliament of at least six delegates, that the minds of Englishmen should be familiarised to it, and when that is done the rest will not be a difficult task.

THE CONDITIONS AND METHODS OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN INDIA.

The Chairman of the Bombay Branch, Mr. W. Martin Wood, opened a discussion on the "Conditions and Methods of Industrial Progress in India," in a very suggestive paper on the subject of developing the resources of India, a country which has to pay such a tribute annually that she has to send abroad commodities worth 15,000,000*l.* more than she receives. He pointed out that the moral resources of the country were thrift, industry, and intelligence, and that they most wanted self-reliance, co-operation, and perseverance; that there was ample room for improvement in agricultural irrigation, especially in the direction of cotton and seeds, in developing mineral resources; he showed that cotton mills, silk mills, sugar mills, and paper mills had been established with success; that the cultivation of the aloe, of the wild plantain, which produced the manilla hemp, of grape vines, and frankincense, had been proved to be very remunerative, and he urged the co-operative principle to these industries. At a subsequent meeting on the same subject, Dr. Blaney dwelt upon the richness of the resources of the country, and the necessity of fostering the first risings of industries which would contribute to the permanent wealth of the country.

NATIVE PRESS ACT.

The Bombay Branch of the Association have taken action with regard to the Native Press Act, and forwarded a Petition, which was presented to Parliament by Mr. J. Farley Leith, M.P., on the 29th May. In the Petition it was stated that the spirit and actual provisions of the Act were objectionable, and the summary manner in which it was carried through the Legislative Council effectually closed the door on all independent criticism, which might have suggested sundry desirable alterations in detail; that the measure is one of a retrograde character, quite out of harmony with the principles on which the British administration of the country has been conducted; and that it is calculated in its working to aggravate the very mischief it is designed to prevent. The concluding part of the Petition is as follows: "Under the circumstances herein stated, your petitioners submit that no case whatever has been made out for exceptional and extraordinary legislation like that in this Act, instituting a policy which arrests the political and intellectual progress of the country, and deprives the people of a vital portion of those public rights which they had long thought perfectly secure to them under the joint protection of Crown and Parliament. And your petitioners, as loyally bound, will ever pray for the honour and preservation of Parliamentary authority and the prosperity of the Empire."

[A copy of the Petition is inserted in the Appendix.]

REMOVAL OF OFFICE.

The Council in a previous report stated that they had received a notice under the "Public Offices Act" from the Office of Works that their Office would be required for the site of the new Public Offices, which are to extend from the new Public Offices to and include all the north side of Great George Street, and from Parliament Street, west side, to the Park. Another notice to the same effect was received during the year, and as soon as the Government plans are definitely fixed, the Council will have to look out for other offices.

PAPERS IN THE JOURNAL.

The Council have published the following Papers in the Journal:—

"The Prevention and Counteraction of Indian Famines." A Paper read by General Sir ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I.; with Discussion.

"Delegates for India." A Paper read by Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN, Bart., before the Bombay Branch of the Association.

"The Conditions and Methods of Industrial Progress in India." A Discussion before the Bombay Branch of the Association.

"The Dangers and Advantages of Parliamentary and Popular (English) Interference in the Government of India." A Paper read by JAMES ROUTLEDGE, Esq.; with Discussion.

"The Panchayat: Conciliation as a Remedy for Agrarian Disorders in India." A Paper read by W. WEDDERBURN, Esq.; with Discussion.

"The Employment of Indian Troops in Europe." A Paper read by GEORGE FOGGO, Esq.; with Discussion.

LOSSES BY DEATH.

It is with great regret the Council record the death of two members—John Dickinson, Esq., and William Dent, Esq., who had been warm supporters of the Association.

ELECTIONS OF MEMBERS.

His Excellency Rangoonath Row; General Sir George Balfour, K.C.B., M.P.; General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I.; Major-General Sir George Le Grand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I.; have been elected Vice-Presidents of the Association.

The following gentlemen have been elected Members of the Council, since the last annual meeting, to fill vacancies: Sir T. Douglas Forsyth, C.B., K.C.S.I.; Rustomjee Viccjee, Esq.; V. K. Dhairyavan, Esq.; George Palmer, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service; Robert Blair Swinton, Esq., late of the Madras Civil Service; Hormusjee Nusserwanjee Vakeel, Esq.; Catchick Wise Arathoon, Esq., Barrister-at-Law; Abul Hussan Khan, Esq.

Nineteen gentlemen have been elected Members of the Association since the last meeting.

The following Members of the Council retire by rotation, and the Council recommend their re-election: Edward B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., F.R.S.; Sir Charles J. Wingfield, C.B., K.C.S.I.; Christopher B. Denison, Esq., M.P.; Patrick Pirie Gordon, Esq., J.P., M.A.; John Farley Leith, Esq., Q.C., M.P.; Stephen P. Low, Esq., F.R.G.S.; General Sir George Malcolm, K.C.B.; John Bruce Norton, Esq.

PUBLICATIONS.

The Council tender their best thanks to the Proprietors of the fol-

lowing Papers, who present copies for the use of the Reading-room, where they may be daily read by members of the Association :—

<i>The Aligurh Institute Gazette</i>	Aligurh.
„ <i>Native Opinion</i>	Bombay.
„ <i>Times of India</i>	„
„ <i>Bengalee</i>	Caleutta.
„ <i>Friend of India and Statesman</i>	„
„ <i>Hindu Patriot</i>	„
„ <i>Indian Daily News</i>	„
„ <i>East</i>	Dacca.
„ <i>Overland Athenæum and Daily News</i>	Madras.
„ <i>Madras Native Opinion</i>	„
„ <i>Examiner</i>	London.
„ <i>Doctor</i>	„
„ <i>Journal of the Society of Arts</i>	„
„ <i>Journal of the Royal United Service Institution</i>	„
„ <i>Journal of the Statistical Society</i>	„
„ <i>Journal of the National Indian Association</i>	„
„ <i>Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute</i>	„
„ <i>Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society</i>	Liverpool.
„ <i>Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society</i>	Manchester.

Their best thanks are also due to the Council of India for continuing to supply them with Parliamentary Returns and other important papers relating to India, copies of which are placed on the table of the Reading-room, where they are constantly referred to; other copies are sent to Bombay for the use of the Branch there.

ACCOUNTS.

The Accounts for the year have been audited, and will be found in the Appendix.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

CASH ACCOUNT, from 1st May, 1877, to 30th April, 1878.

<i>DR.</i>	<i>RECEIPTS.</i>	<i>EXPENDITURE.</i>	<i>CR.</i>
1877.			
May 1.—To BALANCE at Bankers	46 9 10	46 9 10	
" " in hand	1 15 5	48 5 3	
To Subscriptions received in London	15 3 9		
To Remittance from Bombay Branch, Rs. 1,000 realized	83 8 9		
To Advertisements in the Journal and Sundry Receipts	23 14 3		
To Interest on Investments in London	37 6 5		
" " " in India	395 12 0		
		April 30.—By Rent Housekeeper, Coal, and Gas	163 10 0
		Salaries	34 16 1
		Printing	280 10 0
		Reporting and Paragraphing	134 11 0
		Newspapers and Books	21 0 0
		Bookbinding	16 9 8
		Stationery	3 12 0
		Postage	6 10 6
		Advertising	15 0 7
		Freight on Publications to India	10 4 0
		BALANCE at Bankers	5 6 10
		" in hand	689 11 3
			47 15 3
			2 3 10 — 49 19 1
			£739 10 3

BALANCE SHEET, April 30, 1878.

<i>ASSETS.</i>	<i>LIABILITIES.</i>
Investments in England: Rs. 10,900 in 4 per Cent. Loan of 1875..	£ 044 4 5
Furniture and Fixtures, London.....	197 4 0
Library	166 7 0
Balance of Bank and Cash Account	49 19 1
	£1,397 14 6
	General Fund Balance carried forward.....
	£1,397 14 6

Examined with Ledger and Vouchers, and found correct.
 (Signed) W. C. PALMER, Hon. Sec.

June 18, 1878,
 J. LONG.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

Who have Paid their Subscriptions from May 1, 1877, to April 30, 1878.

	For	£	s.	d.
Avist Agabeg, Esq.....	1877	.....	1	5 0
George Appleton, Esq.	1878	.....	1	5 0
C. W. Arathoon, Esq. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
General Sir George Balfour, K.C.B., M.P. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P.	1877-78	.....	2	10 0
S. C. Bayley, Esq.	1878	.....	1	5 0
Major Evans Bell	1876-77	.....	2	10 0
Major-General James Black .....	"	.....	2	10 0
Peer Bukhsh, Esq. ....	"	.....	2	10 0
Major-General George Burn	1878	.....	1	5 0
Alexander Burrell, Esq.	1877-78	.....	2	10 0
H. A. M. Butler-Johnstone, Esq.	1878	.....	1	5 0
A. H. Campbell, Esq.	1875-77	.....	0	15 0
J. Scarlett Campbell, Esq.	1878	.....	1	5 0
Miss Mary Carpenter (the late)	1877	.....	1	5 0
General Orfeur Cavenagh	1878	.....	1	5 0
Lord F. C. Cavendish, M.P.	1877-78	.....	2	10 0
Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.	1878	.....	1	1 0
J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P.	1877-78	.....	2	10 0
John Corbett, Esq., M.P.	1878	.....	1	5 0
General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
Charles Currey, Esq. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
The late A. Cursetjee, Esq., per G. Ardaseer, Esq.	1877	.....	1	5 0
Juland Danvers, Esq.	1878	.....	1	5 0
Emerson Dawson, Esq. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
V. K. Dhairyavan, Esq. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
S. S. Dickinson, Esq. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
Khetter Mohun Dutt, Esq.	1877	.....	1	5 0
Robert H. Elliot, Esq.	1878	.....	1	5 0
Lieut.-Colonel H. L. Evans	1877-78	.....	2	10 0
Colonel W. E. Evans	1878	.....	1	5 0
Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, K.C.S.I., C.B. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
George Foggo, Esq.	1877-78	.....	2	10 0
Sir T. Douglas Forsyth, K.C.S.I. ....	"	.....	2	10 0
F. W. Fox, Esq.	1877	.....	1	5 0
H. W. Freeland, Esq.	1878	.....	1	5 0
Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French .....	"	.....	1	5 0
Major-General W. A. Fyers .....	"	.....	1	5 0
S. Grove Grady, Esq.	1877	.....	1	5 0
Right Hon. Lord R. de A. Grosvenor, M.P.	1878	.....	1	5 0
Sir Basil F. Hall, Bart.	1874-77	.....	5	0 0
Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart., K.C.B.	1878	.....	1	5 0
T. F. Henley, Esq.	1877-78	.....	2	10 0
Alfred J. Holiday, Esq.	1878	.....	1	5 0
James F. Hore, Esq. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
Abul Hussan Khan, Esq. ....	"	.....	1	5 0
A. R. Hutchins, Esq. ....	"	.....	1	5 0

	For	£	s.	d.
Major-General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I.	1878	1	5	0
Charles Jay, Esq.	"	1	5	0
John Jones, Esq.	1877-78	2	10	0
Henry Kimber, Esq.	1878	1	5	0
Rev. James Long	1876-78	3	15	0
General Sir John Low, K.C.B., G.C.S.I.	1878	1	1	0
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APPENDIX A.

To the Right Honourable Viscount Cranbrook, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council.

The Humble Memorial of the Council of the East India Association Sheweth,

That the East India Association has been instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally; and that, among other means, the above object is sought to be attained by holding Public Meetings at which Papers on Indian subjects are read and discussion is invited.

That on the 13th of March last, Mr. W. Wedderburn, of the Bombay Civil Service, read a Paper before the Association, entitled, "The Village Panchayat: Conciliation as a Remedy for Agrarian Disorders in India;" that in the said paper inquiry was made as to the causes which have led to the extreme poverty and indebtedness of the cultivating classes, as to the action of the Civil Courts in dispossessing the landholders and in producing agrarian violence and disorder, and as to the legislative remedies which have hitherto been attempted; and that the following were indicated as the leading remedies for existing anarchy and pauperism:—

1. *Conciliation*, to heal the quarrel between the lenders and the borrowers;
2. *Improved Credit*, to lower the rate of interest;
3. *A Law of Insolvency*, to provide a means of escape for the debtor in extreme cases.

That on the occasion of the said Paper being read the chair was taken by Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P.; that he as well as other gentlemen of large Indian experience took part in the discussion; and that it was generally agreed that the employment of Panchayats would be highly advantageous as tending to promote good-will among the rural classes, and to reduce mischievous litigation.

That annexed are copies of the Paper and of the report of the Discussion above referred to.

That this question appears to be deserving of special attention with reference to a Bill "for the relief of indebted agriculturists in certain districts in the Presidency of Bombay," which was introduced at a

meeting of the Legislative Council held at Simla on the 20th of June last.

That, after careful consideration of the subject, your Memorialists pray that your Lordship in Council will be pleased, by the appointment of a Commission, or by such other means as may appear fit, to direct inquiry to be made in order to ascertain how far the poverty and indebtedness of the cultivating classes is due to defects in the existing judicial system for the recovery of debt, and whether the delay, vexation, uncertainty, and expense of litigation might not be materially reduced by restoring the ancient and customary institution of Village Panchayats.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

(Signed) EDWARD B. EASTWICK,

Chairman of the Council of the East India Association

20, Great George-street, Westminster, S.W.

Reply.

India Office, July 23rd, 1878.

Sir,—I am desired by Lord Cranbrook to acknowledge the receipt of the Memorial of the Council of the East India Association, and to state that the matter will receive his due consideration.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

W. J. MAITLAND.

The Chairman of the Council of the East India Association,
20, Great George-street, S.W.

APPENDIX B.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament Assembled.

The humble Petition of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association

Most respectfully sheweth,

That your petitioners have observed with great regret the enactment by the Council of his Excellency the Governor-General of India of Act No. IX. of 1878, for controlling publications in the Oriental languages, both because your petitioners consider the spirit and actual provisions of the said Act to be highly objectionable, and because the summary manner in which it was carried through the Legislative Council effectually closed the door on all independent criticism, which might have suggested sundry desirable alterations in detail.

2. That your petitioners are humbly of opinion that the measure in question is one of an entirely retrograde character, quite out of harmony with the principles on which, upon the whole, the British administration of this country has been hitherto conducted; and that it is calculated in its actual working to aggravate the very mischief which it is designed to prevent.

3. Your petitioners need not dwell on what is now an admitted axiom of statesmanship and political philosophy, that under ordinary circumstances no restraints on the liberty of the Press are either expedient or efficacious for achieving the end in view. That axiom appears to be admitted even by the strongest advocates of the Act in question, who have been content to rest the justification of the measure on the ground that the special circumstances of the case require special legislation.

4. Your petitioners, however, venture to submit that the existence of any such special circumstances has not been in any way made out. Your petitioners have carefully read through all the extracts from Vernacular newspapers relied upon by the Government of India for its justification, and with the exception of a very small minority of them—and those selected from some of the most obscure and insignificant prints—your petitioners venture to submit that they are perfectly legitimate comments on public affairs, however erroneous the views of the writers may sometimes be. A recent English writer of considerable experience in Indian journalism is of the same opinion when he says: “I have no hesitation in saying that in its higher parts it is generally characterised by firmness, and that in the journals of a lower character the strength of the language used is often miscalculated by the writers, while in neither case is it characteristically disloyal. Nothing of all that England has commended to India by precept and example is better worth preservation by India than a free, fearless Press, and any money spent in making that Press known to the great towns—the popular life of England—would be a valuable outlay.” Your petitioners also believe that in the small number of cases of exceptionally mischievous writings—writings which can be fairly regarded as seditious or treasonable in tone—the law laid down in the Indian Penal Code is amply sufficient to meet and remedy that occasional evil. Under these circumstances, your petitioners submit that the plea put forward in favour of this admittedly exceptional measure, even if there were no positive objections to it, would be altogether insufficient.

5. But there is at least one very serious objection to the main provision of the Act, and to this your petitioners would now crave leave to ask the special attention of your Honourable House. The power of

interference with the Press, under the Act in question, is vested in certain executive officers, with an appeal to certain higher executive officers, and all the Judicial Courts are by this Act precluded from entertaining any jurisdiction in matters that may be alleged by local executive officials to fall within the scope of the Act. Your petitioners cannot but express the strongest objection to this provision. And your petitioners must take leave to point out that this stretching of the powers of the Executive in India at the expense of the Judiciary appears to be part of a furtively designed system, this being only one of several measures in which that object is aimed at. Several of the Acts recently passed both by the Provincial and Supreme Legislatures in India have contained clauses to exclude the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of the land in matters falling within the provisions of those Acts. Your petitioners think that this is a serious abuse of the powers vested in the Indian Legislatures by the Imperial Parliament. It is equivalent to an introduction of the old system of administration by Government orders and proclamations only in another and slightly disguised form. And your petitioners feel confident that your Honourable House will regard with distrust and displeasure this retrograde tendency, which seems to have reached its climax in Clauses 3, 6, 9, 12, and 16 of this Act.

6. If there is one circumstance more than another which constitutes the superiority of British rule over former Governments in this country, it is, next to the liberty of speech and thought, the abridgment of the sphere of personal government, the gradual extension of the reign of law. Liberty of speech has now, for the first time in a period of peace, been trespassed upon by the Act in question. The reign of law has been gradually in process of subtle and indirect curtailment for a considerable number of years. Your petitioners humbly ask your Honourable House to take measures to check this lapse on the part of the Indian authorities from the higher stand-point which British rule in India has hitherto occupied, and which in the eyes of the people has in a very great degree made up for some of the inevitable disadvantages of dependency on a foreign Power.

7. Your petitioners believe that the Act in question has been modelled to some extent on a statute passed by the Imperial Parliament for Ireland, being 33 and 34 Vict., c. 9. But your petitioners beg to point out two most essential differences between that Act and the Act passed by the Indian Legislature. In the first place, the Imperial statute is expressly made temporary, to be in operation for only a year and a half, or thereabouts, while the Indian Act is absolutely without limitation in its duration; secondly, the English-Irish Act gives a

remedy to the aggrieved party by way of damages against the executive officer responsible, thus giving power to the subject to bring the conduct of such executive officer before the constituted Courts of the land. And the ostentatious exclusion of this constitutional remedy, as your petitioners need scarcely point out, is the feature of this Act which, as your petitioners venture to submit, calls for the strongest reprobation on the part of your Honourable House. Your petitioners therefore submit that the above-cited Imperial statute does not by any means justify the unconstitutional character of the Indian Act. There is also this further circumstance to be noted, that the necessity for the preservation of peace in Ireland at that time might be held to justify the enactment of the temporary Imperial statute. The newspapers which it was sought to control by the Act had, in so many words, incited tenants to murder their landlords, or called on Irishmen to rebel and war against the State; and the result of those writings, as well as other special circumstances, had led to a chronic state of disturbance and crime in Ireland. No such state of things has been or can be even alleged in excuse of the proceedings of the Indian Legislature.

8. In support of this measure it was urged in the Council of his Excellency the Governor-General that several of the Vernacular journals had within the past few years assumed a tone of fixed hostility to the British Government. Your petitioners submit that any inference which may be drawn from the tone of some few of the writings referred to would be altogether erroneous. The value to this country of British government, your petitioners are firmly persuaded, has at no time been more fully appreciated, nor its power more distinctly realized, than at present. There has never been less thought of the possibility of its subversion, or a more vivid sense of the necessity of its continuance than at this juncture. What the Vernacular papers alluded to are really chargeable with is :

- (1.) That they frequently expose, and sometimes too severely reflect upon, individual officials and their proceedings.
- (2.) That they publish criticisms, often bitter, and sometimes erroneous, on the financial results of British administration.

(a.) The complaints of the former class, your petitioners think, are not due so much to any alteration in the views or positions of the conductors of the Vernacular papers, as to the fact that, under recent legislation, such as the Criminal Procedure Code and the various Acts for introducing Municipalities into Indian Towns and Villages, and the like, local officers of Government, mainly out of the Presidency towns, have been exercising the powers vested in them in modes which

give rise to more numerous complaints. Our Indian legislators refuse to see the change in their own conduct and policy, and then charge the whole of the mischievous result which follows on an assumed alteration in the tone of the Vernacular papers.

(b.) The complaints of the latter class are directed mainly to the apparent gradual impoverishment of the country, the heavy land assessments, the alleged oppressive taxes, imperial, provincial, and municipal, the large drain on Indian resources for "Home Charges," and questions of like nature. In regard to these matters, your petitioners believe there is considerable room for improvement in the policy of Government, and great justice in many of the complaints made. But the authorities, instead of setting earnestly about looking into these matters, attempt merely to stifle the voice of complaint. Your petitioners are persuaded that your Honourable House will give no countenance to that attempt, especially having regard to the fact that with reference to both these classes of complaints the Vernacular press does not by any means stand alone.

9. Your petitioners have also seen, too, with considerable surprise, the plea advanced that the new Act mitigates the severity of the existing law upon the subject. This argument, your petitioners venture to say, could only have been urged in ignorance of the facts of the case. Section 20 of the new Act expressly saves alive all the provisions of the existing law bearing upon such cases; so that the punishment of confiscation of copies of newspapers, type, plant, machinery, &c., prescribed by the present Act is in addition to such punishment as may be inflicted under the old law. How that can be a mitigation of the severities of the old law, it is difficult to perceive. But your petitioners further submit that even a mitigation of the severity of the old law is not acceptable to the people of the country, when such mitigation is coupled with the pernicious and retrograde provision that the authorities to administer the new law are to be the executive officers of Government, thus depriving the people of their constitutional rights to protection by Courts of Justice.

10. In the course of the discussions on the Act in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy it was expressly stated that the Government did not wish to interfere with any criticism of its conduct in the English language, but that the intention was to check undue liberty of criticism in the Vernaculars, which criticism was addressed mainly to ignorant people, and therefore more likely to lead to mischievous consequences. In spite, however, of this express declaration, the Act is so framed as to affect bi-lingual papers without excluding from its operations the English columns of such papers. Your petitioners venture

to submit, that this portion of the enactment is not even attempted to be justified by the reasoning of its advocates; and the result of it is that the whole of the Native Press, with only a few exceptions, comes under the censorship established by this Act. It is unnecessary for your petitioners to point out that, in effect, the measure thus makes an invidious class distinction which is altogether unusual and unjustifiable.

11. There is one other matter to which also your petitioners would crave the attention of your Honourable House. The Act seeks to control not merely newspapers, but under Section 10, also books, pamphlets, &c., published in the Vernaculars. This section may be regarded as indicative of the undiscriminating and ill-judging frame of mind in which the whole measure has been conceived. The improvement and development of the Vernacular languages has from the date of the celebrated despatch of the Court of Directors of 1854 been one of the great aims of the educational policy of the British Government in India. It is the means by which the masses of this country can be educated so as to make useful and good citizens. Now, it is unnecessary to point out that a provision like that contained in Section 10 of the Act must exercise a most depressing influence upon all Vernacular literature. No author can be sure that some expression in his writings may not be laid hold of to bring it within the section of the Act. And the great risk authors must thus run of having their books confiscated, together with the plant, machinery, &c., of the press where they may be printed, will be a most powerful, if not irresistible, check on all literary activity in the Vernaculars. Although in actual practice the Act might be worked leniently, still the risk here pointed out would be a very serious one, especially considering that in the present state of affairs there is very little encouragement to authors in the Vernacular languages, and their performances are, from a pecuniary point of view, very far from profitable.

12. Your petitioners are extremely unwilling to go into the details of this measure; but in addition to the insuperable objections on principle which they have already urged, they would beg to put it to your Honourable House whether the provision regarding the submission of proof-sheets to a Press censor appointed by Government could possibly work in practice without excessive inconvenience; whether expressions such as "public news," "exciting disaffection to Government," or "exciting race antipathies" are not (without explanations like those given in the Indian Penal Code) too vague and indefinite to be used in an Act giving such enormous powers to the Executive, or whether it is just that all printing presses, machinery, &c. (as provided in Section 8 and Section 10) should be liable to forfeiture, even when the proprietor

of such presses is not the same as the proprietor of the offending newspaper; also whether it should not be incumbent (as it is under the 33 and 34 Vict., c. 9) on the Government to point out the specific passage which they charge as treasonable before enforcing the Act against any individual newspaper.

13. Your petitioners further submit that no excuse whatever has been given for the indecent haste with which this measure was pushed in all its stages through the Council. Your petitioners fail to see what necessity there was for such almost unexampled hurry. When the Indian Tariff Act was hastily passed in 1874, the Government of India had a plausible ground to urge in support of their action, and yet Her Majesty's Secretary of State expressed his serious disapproval of the course which had been adopted; in the present case, your petitioners submit there was not the least valid ground for any such summary and undignified procedure. Throughout the speeches in Council on the measure, there is not a single reason adduced for the haste; and your petitioners believe that your Honourable House cannot fail to express your disapprobation of such an irregular proceeding, resorted to without adequate grounds, apparently with no other object than to avoid all adverse criticism on the measure being brought to the attention of the Legislative Council,—thus acting in despite of the principles and maxims of all sound legislative procedure.

14. Your petitioners feel that the passing of such a law at such a time as the present is likely to be construed in some quarters as a confession of weakness on the part of the British Government, a weak and unworthy admission entirely uncalled for. There is no danger threatening the State now as there was in 1857—the only other occasion since the first emancipation of the Indian Press by Sir C. Metcalfe when its liberty has been restrained. In 1857 there was not only the justification afforded by the state of the Empire, but the restraint was expressly stated to be only temporary, and it was then laid on all European and Native publications alike. Now, in a time of internal peace, when there is no danger of any kind threatening order in this country, the Supreme Legislative Council has allowed itself to pass in one sitting a permanent measure for restraining only one section of the Press of the country which has a very small circulation and exercises a very inconsiderable influence, and by a stretch of Executive influence and authority to pass that measure in a manner which excluded all possibility of outside and independent criticism.

15. The public feeling in this city against this measure is so strong that a meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay to memorialize the authorities regarding it was generally desired, and has only been post-

poned for the present, having regard to the unsettled state of the relations between the European Powers. It was expressly stated at the preliminary meeting that the postponement was owing to that circumstance, and the consequent necessity of avoiding anything which might by any possibility embarrass the Government.

16. Your petitioners also, having regard to the same circumstance, content themselves for the present with addressing this representation to your Honourable House.

17. Under the circumstances herein stated, your petitioners submit that no case whatever has been made out for exceptional and extraordinary legislation like that in this Act, instituting a policy which arrests the political and intellectual progress of the country, and deprives the people of a vital portion of those public rights which they had long thought perfectly secure to them under the joint protection of Crown and Parliament.

And your petitioners therefore pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to pass such resolutions as will lead to the total repeal of the said Act No. IX. of 1878.

And your petitioners, as loyally bound, will ever pray for the honour and preservation of Parliamentary authority and the prosperity of the Empire.

By order of the Committee,

(Signed) KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG,
MANCHERJEE MERWANJEE BHOWNAGRI,
Honorary Joint Secretaries.

Bombay, 18th April, 1878.

THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF ALL PUBLIC INTERESTS IN INDIA.
20, GREAT GEORGE STREET, LONDON, S.W.

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Although some of the Princes and other Natives of Western India have of late accorded to the Association a liberal pecuniary support, yet its income falls considerably short of that necessary to place it on a permanent footing, and increase its sphere of usefulness.

It is hoped, therefore, that Members will individually aid the Council in this respect, by means of donations, presents of books for the increase of the Library, &c.

Resident Members are furnished with Blank Tickets of Admission to the Lectures, for the use of their friends.

Indian, English, and Vernacular Newspapers, as per List, are received and filed in the Reading-room of the Association, in addition to the leading Daily Papers of the Metropolis, and several Weeklies.

The use of the Reading-room and Library is free to Members, who can also have their letters addressed there.

The Secretary will be happy to forward Application Papers, Rules, &c., or give any other information desired.

RULES.

I.—OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 1. The EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

II.—MEMBERS.

Article 2. The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

Article 3. Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

Article 4. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

Article 5. Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

Article 6. The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a standing order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

Article 7. Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of 1*l*., or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or 10*l*., which shall constitute a Life Member.

NOTE—Total Annual Subscription, including Journal (delivered free of postage) £1 5 0
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III.—MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

Article 8. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Thirty-three Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum; and Eight to retire annually by Rotation, but eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

Article 9. A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 10. The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

Article 11. The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 12. The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the

RULES—(*continued*).

month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

Article 13. The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

Article 14. At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

Article 15. The President, or, in his absence, any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member, shall preside at the Annual or Ordinary Meetings of the Association.

Article 16. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or, in their absence, any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Article 17. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

Article 18. General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

Article 19. A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member, ten days before the Annual Meeting.

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Article 20. Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

BYE-LAWS.

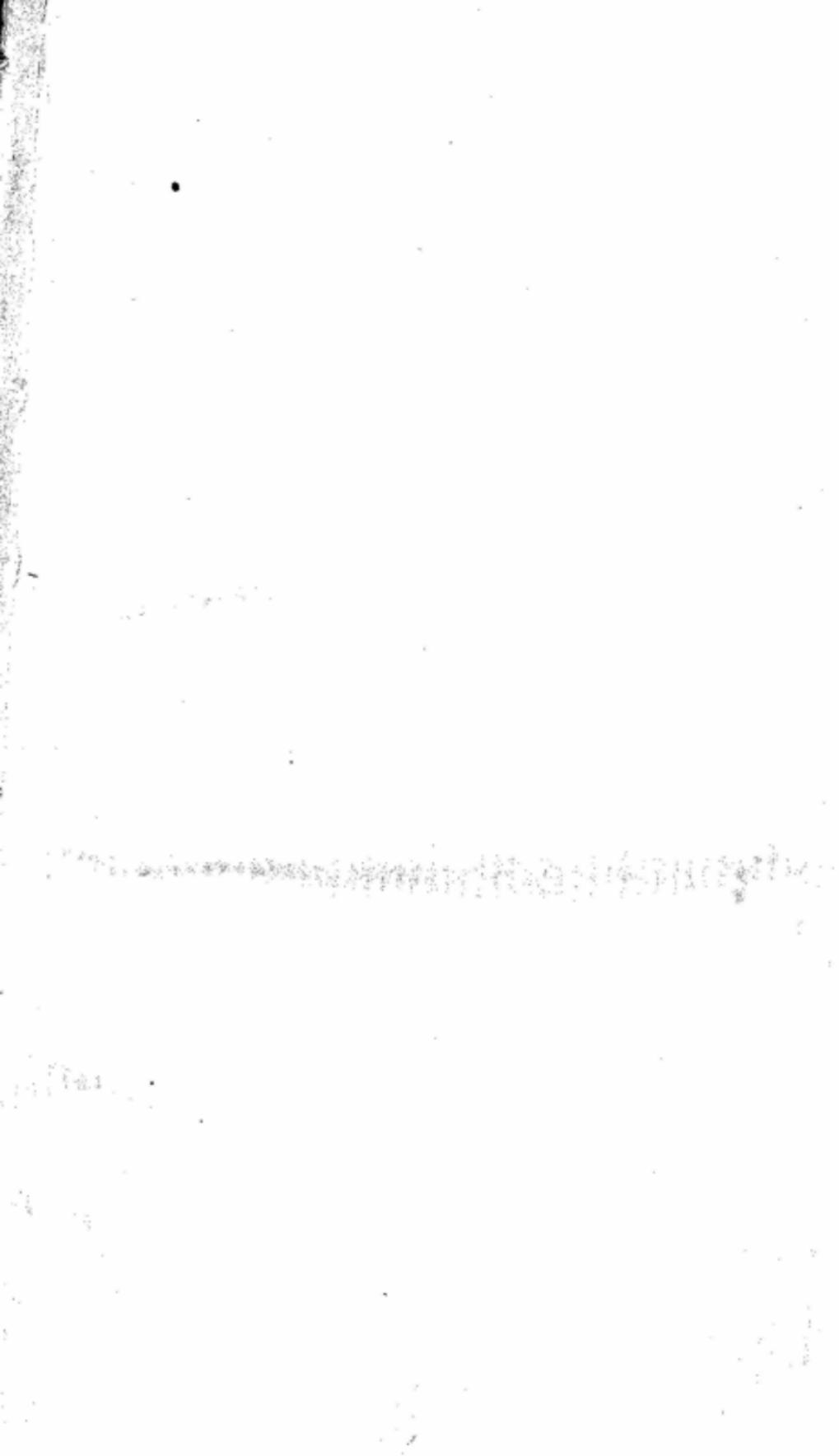
Article 21. The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

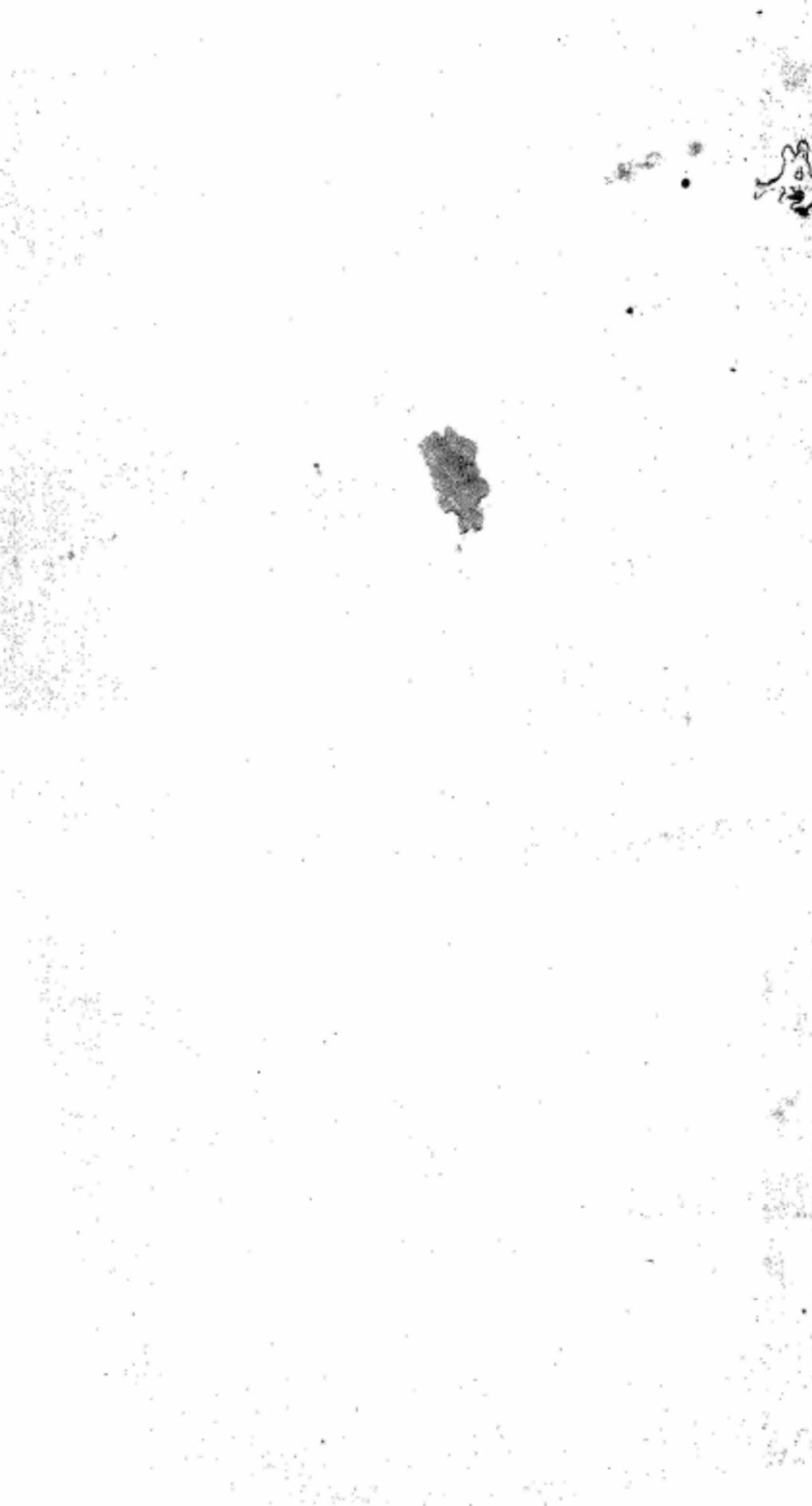
ALTERATION OF RULES.

Article 22. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 23. The Council may, in their discretion, publish, quarterly or otherwise, a Journal, containing a Report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.







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